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THE

WORKS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS;

WITH AN

ESSAY ON HIS LIFE AND GENIUS,

NOTES, SUPPLEMENTS, &c.

BY

ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQ.

Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamiâ metus sit.

TACITUS, Annales, iii. s. 65.

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THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK III.

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These transactions include three years.

Years of Rome	Of Christ.	Consuls.
773	20	*M. Valerius Messala, C. Aurelius Cotta.*
774	21	*Tiberius, 4th time; Drusus, his son, 2d time.*
775	22	*D. Haterius Agrippa, C. Sulpicius Galba.*

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK III.

I.

AGRIPPINA pursued her voyage without intermission. Neither the rigour of the winter, nor the rough navigation in that season of the year, could alter her resolution. She arrived at the island of Corcyra, opposite to the coast of Calabria. At that place she remained a few days, to appease the agitations of a mind pierced to the quick, and not yet taught in the school of affliction to submit with patience. The news of her arrival spreading far and wide, the intimate friends of the family, and most of the officers who had served under Germanicus, with a number of strangers from the municipal towns, some to pay their court, others car-

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ried along with the current, pressed forward in crowds to the city of Brundusium, the nearest and most convenient port. As soon as the fleet came in sight of the harbour, the sea-coast, the walls of the city, the tops of houses, and every place that gave even a distant view, were crowded with spectators. Compassion throbbed in every breast. In the hurry of their first emotions, men knew not what part to act: should they receive her with acclamations? or would silence best suit the occasion? Nothing was settled. The fleet entered the harbour, not with the alacrity usual among mariners, but with a slow and solemn sound of the oar, impressing deeper melancholy on every heart.

Agrippina came forth, leading two of her children *(a)*, with the urn of Germanicus in her hand, and her eyes stedfastly fixed upon that precious object. A general groan was heard. Men and women, relations and strangers, all joined in one promiscuous scene of sorrow, varied only by the contrast between the attendants of Agrippina, and those who now received the first impression. The former appeared with a languid air; while

the latter, yielding to the sensation of the moment, broke out with all the vehemence of recent grief.

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II. TIBERIUS had ordered to Brundusium two prætorian cohorts. The magistrates of Calabria, Apulia, and Campania, had it in command to pay every mark of honour to the memory of the emperor's son. The urn was borne on the shoulders of the centurions and tribunes, preceded by the colours, not displayed with military pomp, but drooping in disorder, with all the negligence of grief. The fasces were inverted. In the colonies through which they passed, the populace in mourning, and the knights in their purple robes, threw into the flames rich perfumes, spices and garments, with other funeral offerings, according to the ability of the place. Even from distant towns the people came in crowds to meet the procession; they presented victims; they erected altars to the gods of departed souls, and by their lamentations marked their sense of the public calamity. Drusus advanced as far as Terracina, accompanied by Claudius *(a)*, the brother of Germanicus, and the children of the deceased prince that had been left at Rome. The

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consuls, Marcus Valerius Messala, and Marcus Aurelius Cotta, who a little before had entered on their magistracy, with the whole senate, and a numerous body of citizens, went out to meet the melancholy train. The road was crowded; no order kept, no regular procession; they walked, and wept, as inclination prompted. Flattery had no share in the business: where the court rejoiced in secret, men could not weep themselves into favour. Tiberius indeed dissembled, but he could not deceive. Through the thin disguise the malignant heart was seen.

III. Neither the emperor nor his mother appeared in public. They imagined, perhaps, that to be seen in a state of affliction, might derogate from their dignity; or, the better reason was, that a number of prying eyes might unmask their inmost sentiments. It does not appear, either in the historians of the time, or in the public journals, that Antonia *(a)*, the mother of Germanicus, took any part in the funeral ceremony. Agrippina, Drusus, Claudius, and the rest of the prince's relations, are registered by name; but of Antonia no mention is made. She was probably hindered from attending by

want of health, or the sensibility of a mother might be unequal to so severe a trial. To speak my own opinion, I am inclined to believe that nothing but the emperor and his mother could restrain her from the last human office to her son. If all three absented themselves, equal affliction might be inferred; and the uncle and grandmother might be supposed to find a precedent in the conduct of the mother.

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IV. The day on which the remains of Germanicus were deposited in the tomb of Augustus, was remarkable for sorrow in various shapes. A deep and mournful silence prevailed, as if Rome was become a desert; and, at intervals, the general groan of a distracted multitude broke forth at once. The streets were crowded; the Field of Mars glittered with torches; the soldiers were under arms; the magistrates appeared without the ensigns of their authority; and the people stood ranged in their several tribes. All, with one voice, despaired of the commonwealth; they spoke their minds without reserve, in the anguish of their hearts forgetting the master that reigned over them. Nothing, however, touched Tiberius so near, as the de-

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cided affection of the people for Agrippina, who was styled the ornament of her country, the only blood of Augustus, and the last remaining model of ancient manners. With hands upraised, the people invoked the gods, imploring them to protect the children of Germanicus from the malice of pernicious enemies.

V. THERE were at that time men of reflection who thought the whole of the ceremony short of that funeral pomp which the occasion required. The magnificence displayed in honour of Drusus, the father of Germanicus, was put in contrast to the present frugality. "Augustus, in the depth of winter, "went as far as Ticinum to meet the body; "and, never quitting it afterwards, entered "the city in the public procession. The bier "was decorated with the images of the Claudian and the Livian families: tears were "shed in the forum; a funeral oration was "delivered from the rostrum; and every "honour, as well of ancient as of modern in-"vention, was offered to the memory of the "deceased. How different was the case at "present! Even the distinctions usually "granted to persons of illustrious rank, were

" refused to Germanicus. The body was " committed to the funeral pile in a foreign " land ; that was an act of necessity ; but, " to compensate for the first deficiency, too " much could not be done. One day's jour- " ney was all that a brother performed. The " uncle did not so much as go to the city- " gate. Where now the usage of ancient " times ? Where the bed on which the image " of the deceased lay in state ? Where the " verses in honour of departed virtue ? Where " the funeral panegyric, and the tear that " embalms the dead ? If real tears were not " ready to gush, where, at least, were the " forms of grief? and where the decency of " pretended sorrow ?"

VI. Tiberius was not ignorant of what passed. To appease the murmurs of the people, he issued a proclamation, in which it was observed, " that eminent men had at various " times fallen in the service of their country, " though none were so sincerely lamented as " Germanicus. The regret shewn on the " present occasion, did honour to the virtue " of the people, and the imperial dignity ; " but grief must have its bounds. That " which might be proper in private families,

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"or in petty states, would ill become the "grandeur of a people *(a)* who gave laws to "the world. Recent affliction must have its "course. The heart overflows, and in that "discharge finds its best relief. It was now "time to act with fortitude. Julius Cæsar "*(b)* lost an only daughter; Augustus saw "his grandsons prematurely snatched away; "but their grief was inward only. They bore "the stroke of affliction with silent dignity. "If the authority of ancient times were re-"quisite, conjunctures might be mentioned, "in which the Roman people saw, with un-"shaken constancy, the loss of their generals, "the overthrow of their armies, and the de-"struction of the noblest families. What-"ever may be the fate of noble families, the "commonwealth is immortal. Let all re-"sume their former occupations; and, since "the *(c)* Megalensian games were near at "hand, let the diversions of the season as-"suage the general sorrow."

VII. The vacation from public business was now concluded. The people returned to their ordinary functions, and Drusus set out for the army in Illyricum. At Rome, in the mean time, all were impatient to see Piso

brought to justice. That an offender of such magnitude should be suffered to roam at large through the delightful regions of Asia and Achaia, roused the general indignation. By such contumacy the law was eluded, and the evidence was growing weaker every day. The fact was, Martina, that notorious dealer in poison, whom Sentius, as has been mentioned, ordered to be conveyed to Rome, died suddenly at Brundusium. Poison was said to have been found in the tangles of her hair, but no trace of suicide appeared on any part of her body.

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VIII. Piso, taking his measures in time, sent his son to Rome with instructions to prepossess the emperor in his favour. He went himself to seek an interview with Drusus; persuaded that he should find the prince not so much exasperated at the loss of a brother, as pleased with an event that delivered him from a rival. The son arrived at Rome. Tiberius, to shew that nothing was prejudged, gave the youth a gracious reception; adding the presents usually bestowed on persons of rank on their return from the provinces. Drusus saw the elder Piso, and frankly told him, that if what was rumoured

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abroad appeared to be founded in truth, the charge demanded his keenest resentment; but he rather hoped to find the whole unsupported by proof, that no man might deserve to suffer for the death of Germanicus. This answer was given in public; no private audience was admitted. The prince, it was generally believed, had his lesson from Tiberius; it being improbable that a young man of a free and open disposition, unhackneyed in the ways of business, could have acted with that guarded reserve, which marked the veteran in politics.

IX. Piso crossed the gulf of Dalmatia *(a)*, and, leaving his ships at Ancona, went forward to Picenum. From that place he pursued his journey on the Flamminian road, and on his way met a legion marching from Pannonia to Rome, in order to proceed from thence to serve in Africa. This incident was variously canvassed by the people. A criminal, it was said, presumes to join the soldiers on their march, and even waylays them at their quarters, to curry favour with his military friends. Piso heard of these complaints, and, to avoid suspicion, or because it is the nature of guilt to be always wavering

and irresolute, at Narni he embarked on the Nar, and, sailing down the Tiber, landed on the Field of Mars, near the tomb of the Cæsars. This was another cause of popular discontent: in open day, amidst a crowd of spectators, he and his wife Plancina made their appearance; the former surrounded by a tribe of clients, and the latter by a train of female attendants; all with an air of gaiety, bold, erect, and confident. Piso's house overlooked the forum; preparations were made for a sumptuous entertainment; the scene was adorned with splendid decorations; and, from the nature of the situation, nothing could remain a secret. The whole was exposed to the public eye.

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X. On the following day Fulcinius Trio exhibited an accusation before the consuls. To this proceeding Vitellius, Veranius, and others, who had attended Germanicus into Asia, made strong objections; alleging, that Trio had not so much as a colour to entitle him to the conduct of the prosecution. As to themselves, they did not mean to stand forth as accusers; but they had the last commands of Germanicus, and to the facts within their knowledge intended to appear as

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witnesses. Trio waved his pretensions, but still claimed a right to prosecute for former misdemeanors. That liberty was allowed. Application was made to the emperor, that the cause might be heard before himself. The request was perfectly agreeable to the accused party, who was not to learn that the senate and the people were prejudiced against him. Tiberius, he knew, was firm enough to resist popular clamour; and, in conjunction with Livia, had acted an underhand part in the business. Besides this, the truth, he thought, would be better investigated before a single judge, than in a mixed assembly, where intrigue and party violence too often prevailed. Tiberius, however, saw the importance of the cause, and felt the imputations *(a)* thrown out against himself. To avoid a situation so nice and difficult, he consented to hear, in the presence of a few select friends, the heads of the charge, with the answers of the defendant; and then referred the whole to the consideration of the senate.

XI. During these transactions, Drusus returned from Illyricum. For the captivity of Maroboduus, and the prosperous events of

the preceding summer, an ovation had been decreed by the senate; but he chose to postpone that honour, and entered the city as a private man. Piso moved that Titus Arruntius, T. Vinicius, Asinius Gallus, Æserninus Marcellus, and Sextus Pompeius, might be assigned as advocates to defend his cause. Under different pretexts they all excused themselves; and in their room, Marcus Lepidus, Lucius Piso, and Livineius Regulus, were appointed. The whole city was big with expectation. It remained to be seen how far the friends of Germanicus would act with firmness; what resources Piso had left; and whether Tiberius would speak his mind, or continue, as usual, dark and impenetrable. No juncture had ever occurred in which the people were so warmly interested; none, when in private discourse men made such bitter reflections, and none, when suspicion harboured such gloomy apprehensions.

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XII. At the next meeting of the senate, Tiberius, in a premeditated speech, explained his sentiments. "Piso," he observed, "had "been the friend and chosen lieutenant of "Augustus; and was lately named with the

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" approbation of the senate, to assist Ger-
" manicus in the administration of the eastern
" provinces. Whether, in that station, he
" had made it his business, by arrogance and
" a contentious spirit, to exasperate the
" prince; whether he rejoiced at his death;
" and, above all, whether he was accessary
" to it; were questions that called for a strict,
" but fair enquiry. If he, who was only se-
" cond in command, exceeded the limits of
" his commission, regardless of the duty
" which he owed to his superior officer; if
" he beheld the death of Germanicus, and
" the loss which I have suffered, with un-
" natural, with fell delight; from that mo-
" ment he becomes the object of my fixed
" aversion, I forbid him to enter my palace;
" he is my own personal enemy. But the
" emperor must not revenge the private
" quarrels of Tiberius. Should murder be
" brought home to him, a crime of that
" magnitude, which in the case of the mean-
" est citizen calls aloud for vengeance, is
" not to be forgiven; it will be yours, con-
" script fathers, to administer consolation to
" the children of Germanicus; it will be
" yours to assuage the sorrows of an afflicted

" father, and a grandmother overwhelmed " with grief. BOOK III. A. U. C. 773. A. D. 20.

" In the course of the enquiry, it will be " material to know whether Piso endea- " voured, with a seditious spirit, to incite " the army to a revolt. Did he try by sinis- " ter arts to seduce the affections of the " soldiers? Was his sword drawn to recover " possession of the province? Are these " things true, or are they the mere sugges- " tions of the prosecutors, with intent to " aggravate the charge? Their zeal, it must " be owned, has been intemperate. By laying " the body naked at Antioch, and exposing " it to public view, what good end could " be answered? Why were foreign nations " alarmed with a report of poison, when the " fact is still problematical, and remains to " be tried? I lament the loss of my son, and " shall ever lament it; but, notwithstanding " all my feelings, it is competent to the de- " fendant to repel the charge; he is at liberty " to bring forward whatever may tend to esta- " blish his innocence, and even to arraign the " conduct of Germanicus, if any blame can " be imputed to him. It is not for me to

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"abridge any part of the defence. My affections, it is true, are interwoven with the cause: but you will not, for that reason, take imputations for guilt, nor allegations for conclusive proof. And since either the ties of consanguinity, or motives of friendship, have engaged able advocates to patronize the party accused, let them exert their zeal, their talents, and their eloquence. In the same manner I exhort the prosecutors: let them act with the same constancy, with equal ardour. The only distinction which the prerogative of the prince can grant, is, that the cause shall be tried in this court, and not in the forum; in the presence of the senate, not before the common tribunals. In all things else let the forms of law be observed. The tears of Drusus, and my own afflictions, are foreign to the question; let no man regard our interest: throw it out of the case, and discard from your minds the little calumnies that may glance at myself."

XIII. Two days were allowed to the prosecutors to support their charge, six to prepare the defence, and three for hearing it. Fulcinius Trio began. The ground he took

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was the avarice and tyranny, with which Piso conducted himself, during his administration in Spain. This was starting from a period too remote. Though convicted on that point, the defendant might still repel the present charge; and if acquitted, he might be guilty of higher crimes. Fulcinius was followed by Servæus, Veranius and Vitellius; all three exerting themselves with equal zeal, but the latter with superoir eloquence. The points insisted upon were—"That Piso, incited by malice to Ger-" manicus, and his own ambitious views, dif-" fused a spirit of licentiousness through the " Roman army. He corrupted the soldiery, " and suffered the allies of Rome to be plun-" dered with impunity. In consequence of " those pernicious acts, the vile and profligate " hailed him FATHER OF THE LEGIONS. But " his conduct was hostile to all good men, " and more directly to the friends of Germa-" nicus. To fill the measure of his iniquity, " he had recourse to magic arts, and the " prince was destroyed by poison. Piso and " his wife Plancina were known to have as-" sisted in superstitious rites and impious " sacrifices. And yet the prisoner did not " stop there: he was guilty of rebellion; " he appeared in arms against the state;

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"and, before he could be brought to justice as a citizen, he was conquered as an enemy."

XIV. The defence in every article, except that which related to the crime of poison, was weak and ineffectual. The charge of debauching the soldiers by bribery, the rapacity of his creatures, and the insults offered to Germanicus, were stubborn facts, and could not be denied. The crime of poisoning seemed to be sufficiently answered. It was left on weak ground by the managers of the prosecution. All they had to urge in support of that article, was a bare allegation, that Piso, at an entertainment given by Germanicus, being placed on a couch above the prince, had contrived with his own hands to mingle poison with the victuals. An attempt of the kind, in the midst of servants not his own, under the eye of numbers, and in the very presence of Germanicus, seemed improbable, and indeed absurd. To refute it altogether, Piso made a tender of his slaves to be questioned on the rack, demanding, at the same time, that the domestics of Germanicus, who waited that day at table, should undergo the like examination. But nothing

made an impression on the judges. For different reasons they were all implacable; Tiberius, on account of the war levied in Syria: the senators, from a full persuasion that treachery had a hand in the death of Germanicus. A motion was made for the production of all letters written to the criminal by Tiberius and Livia. This was opposed with vehemence, not only by Piso, but also by the emperor. The clamours of the populace, who surrounded the senate-house, were heard within doors. The cry was, if Piso escaped by the judgment of the fathers, he should die by the hands of the people. They had already seized his statues, and, in their fury, dragged them to the place of execution called the Gemoniæ *(a)*, with intent to break them into fragments. By order of Tiberius they were rescued out of their hands. Piso was conveyed home in a litter, guarded by a tribune of the prætorian bands: but whether that officer was sent to protect him from the populace, or to see justice executed, was left to conjecture and vague reports.

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XV. PLANCINA, no less than her husband, was an object of public detestation; but protected by court favour, she was

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thought to be out of the reach of her enemies. What Tiberius would do was uncertain. While she supposed herself involved in the fate of Piso, without a gleam of better hope, her language was that of a woman willing to share all chances with her husband, and, if he was doomed to fall, determined to perish with him. Having, in the mean time, by the interest of Livia, obtained her pardon, she began to change her tone, and pursue a separate interest. Finding himself thus abandoned, Piso despaired of his cause. Without further struggle, he intended to resign himself to his fate; but, by the advice of his sons, he resumed his courage, and once more appeared before the senate. The prosecution was renewed with vigour; the fathers spoke in terms of acrimony; every thing was adverse; and the prisoner plainly saw that his fate was decided. In this distress nothing affected him so deeply as the behaviour of Tiberius, who sat in sullen silence, neither provoked to anger, nor softened by compassion, with his usual art stifling every emotion of the heart. Piso was conducted back to his house. He there wrote a few lines, in appearance preparing his defence for the ensuing day, and having sealed the paper, de-

livered it to one of his freedmen. The usual attentions to his person filled up his time, till, at a late hour of the night, his wife having left the room, he ordered the door to be made fast. In the morning he was found dead; his throat cut, and his sword lying near him on the ground.

XVI. I REMEMBER to have heard from men advanced in years, that a bundle of papers, not produced at the trial, was often seen in the hands of Piso, containing, as his friends attested, the letters of Tiberius, full of instructions hostile to Germanicus. These documents would have transferred the guilt to the emperor; but by the delusive promises of Sejanus, they were all suppressed. It was also confidently said that Piso did not lay violent hands on himself, but died by the stroke of an assassin. For the truth of these assertions I do not mean to be answerable; I state the facts as I heard them related by men with whom I conversed in my youth; and the anecdotes of such men may be deemed worthy of attention.

Tiberius attended the next meeting of the senate. He there complained, with seeming

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anxiety, that the death of Piso was intended to reflect dishonour on himself. He sent for the freedman, who had received the paper sealed up, as already stated, and enquired particularly about his master; how he passed the last of his days? and what happened in the course of the night? The man answered in some instances with caution, and in others off his guard. The emperor produced Piso's letter, and read it to the senate. It was nearly in the following words; "Oppressed "by the malice of my enemies, and falling "under a load of imputed guilt, without a "friend to espouse the truth, or shelter in- "nocence, I call the immortal gods to wit- "ness, that to you, Cæsar, I have through life "preserved my faith inviolate. For your mo- "ther I have ever felt the sincerest veneration. "I conjure you both to take my sons under "your protection. Cneius Piso is innocent. "Nothing that happened in Asia can be im- "puted to him, since he remained, during "the whole time, at Rome. His brother "Marcus, when I returned to the province "of Syria, was strenuous against the measure. "Would to Heaven that I had yielded to "the advice of a young man, and that my "authority had not silenced all opposition.

" For him I offer my fervent prayers; let " not the errors of the father bring down " ruin on the son. If in the course of " five-and-forty years I have been devoted " to your service; if Augustus made me his " colleague in the consulship *(a)*; if the re- " membrance of our early friendship can now " avail; by all those ties I implore your " mercy for my unhappy son. It is the re- " quest of a dying father; the last I shall " ever make." He made no mention of Plancina.

XVII. Tiberius declared his opinion, that Marcus Piso, being under the control of his father *(a)*, ought not to be answerable for the civil war. He mentioned the regard due to an illustrious house, and even lamented the unhappy lot of the deceased, though brought upon him by misconduct. He spoke in favour of Plancina, but with an air of embarrassment, conscious of his own duplicity. The intercession of his mother was a colour for the part he acted; but thinking men were by no means satisfied. On the contrary, their hatred of Livia was more embittered than ever. They exclaimed without reserve, " Shall the grandmother admit to her pre-

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"sence a woman stained with the blood of "her grandson? Shall she converse in familiar "freedom with a murderess? Must she re- "ceive to her arms an abandoned woman, "and by her influence rescue her from the "vengeance of the senate? The laws protect "the meanest citizen; but in the case of Ger- "manicus they have lost their vigour. Vi- "tellius and Veranius poured forth their elo- "quence in the cause of a prince cut off by "treachery, while the emperor and his mo- "ther side with Plancina. That pernicious "woman may now with impunity continue "her trade of poisoning; she may practise "her detestable arts on the life of Agrippina "and her children; she may proceed in her "iniquity, and, with the blood of an illus- "trious, but unhappy family, glut the rage "of a dissembling uncle and a worthless "grandmother." For two days together Rome was amused with a mock-trial of Plancina. Tiberius, in the mean time, exhorted Piso's sons to stand forth in defence of their mother. The charge was opened; the witnesses were examined, and the orators spared neither zeal nor eloquence in support of the prosecution: no reply was made; the wretched condition of a helpless woman began to

operate on the feelings of the fathers, and prejudice was melted into pity. Aurelius Cotta, the consul, was the first that gave his vote, according to a settled rule *(b)* whenever the question was put by the emperor. The opinion of Cotta was, that the name of Piso should be razed out of the public registers; that part of his estate should be confiscated, and the rest granted to Cneius Piso, upon condition that he changed the family name; and that his brother Marcus, divested of all civil honours, should be condemned to banishment for the space of ten years, with a sum, however, of fifty thousand great sesterces for his support. In deference to the solicitations of Livia, it was proposed to grant a free pardon to Plancina.

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XVIII. This sentence, in many particulars, was mitigated by Tiberius. The family name, he said, ought not to be abolished, while that of Marc Antony, who appeared in arms against his country, as well as that of Julius Antonius *(a)*, who by his intrigues dishonoured the house of Augustus, subsisted still, and figured in the Roman annals. Marcus Piso was left in possession of his civil dignities and his father's fortune.

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Avarice, as has been already observed, was not the passion of Tiberius. On this occasion, the disgrace incurred by the partiality shewn to Plancina, softened his temper, and made him the more willing to extend his mercy to the son. Valerius Messalinus moved, that a golden statue might be erected in the temple of Mars the Avenger. An altar to Vengeance was proposed by Cæcina Severus. Both these motions were over-ruled by the emperor. The principle on which he argued was, that public monuments, however proper in cases of foreign conquest, were not suited to the present juncture. Domestic calamity should be lamented, and as soon as possible consigned to oblivion.

Messalinus added to his motion a vote of thanks to Tiberius and Livia, to Antonia, Agrippina, and Drusus, for their zeal in bringing to justice the enemies of Germanicus. The name of Claudius *(b)* was not mentioned. Lucius Asprenas desired to know whether that omission was intended. The consequence was, that Claudius was inserted in the vote. Upon an occasion like this, it is impossible not to pause for a moment, to make a reflection that naturally rises out of the sub-

ject. When we review what has been doing in the world, is it not evident, that in all transactions, whether of ancient or of modern date, some strange caprice of fortune turns all human wisdom to a jest? In the juncture before us, Claudius figured so little on the stage of public business, that there was scarce a man in Rome, who did not seem, by the voice of fame and the wishes of the people, designed for the sovereign power, rather than the very person, whom fate, in that instant, cherished in obscurity, to make him, at a future period, master of the Roman world.

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XIX. The senate, a few days afterwards, on the motion to Tiberius, granted the sacerdotal dignity of Vitellius, Veranius, and Servæus. Fulcinius Trio received a promise of the emperor's favour in his road to honours, but was at the same time admonished to restrain the ardour of his genius, lest, by overheated vehemence, he might mar his eloquence. In this manner ended the enquiry concerning the death of Germanicus; a subject which has been variously represented, not only by men of that day, but by all subsequent writers. It remains, to this hour, the problem of history. A cloud for ever

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hangs over the most important transactions, while, on the one hand, credulity adopts for fact the report of the day; and, on the other, politicians warp and disguise the truth: between both parties two different accounts go down from age to age, and gain strength with posterity.

Drusus thought it time to enjoy the honours of a public entry. For this purpose he went out of the city, and having assisted at the ceremony of the auspices, returned with the splendour of an *ovation*. In a few days after he lost his mother Vipsania *(a)*; of all the children of Agrippa, the only one that died a natural death. The rest were brought to a tragic end; some, as is well known, by the murderer's stroke; and others, as is generally believed, by poison or by famine.

XX. In the same year Tacfarinas, the Numidian chief, whom we have seen defeated by Camillus in a former campaign, once more commenced hostilities in Africa. He began by sudden incursions; depending for his safety on the rapidity of his flight. Emboldened by success, he attacked several towns and villages, and went off enriched with plunder.

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At length, at a place near the river Pagida (*a*), he hemmed in a Roman cohort, and held them closely besieged. Decrius, a gallant and experienced officer, who commanded the fort, considered the blockade as a disgrace to the Roman arms. Having exhorted his men to face the enemy on the open plain, he marched out, and formed in order of battle. At the first onset the Barbarians made an impression. The cohort gave way. Decrius braved every danger. Amidst a volley of darts, he opposed his person to stop the flight of his men; he called aloud to the standard-bearers, charging them not to incur the shame and infamy of yielding to an undisciplined rabble, a vile collection of runaways and deserters. His efforts were ineffectual. Covered with wounds, and one eye pierced through, he still persisted with undaunted valour, till at last, abandoned by his troops, he died bravely sword in hand.

XXI. Lucius Apronius, who had succeeded Camillus as proconsul of Africa, received the account of this defeat with indignation. The disgrace of the Roman arms touched him more than the glory that accrued to the Barbarians. He resolved to ex-

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piate the infamy by a dreadful punishment, founded, indeed, upon ancient precedent, and recorded in history; but in modern times fallen into disuse. He ordered the cohort, whose behaviour had been so ignominious, to be decimated *(a)*: every man upon whom the lot fell, died under repeated blows of the cudgel. The consequence of this severity was, that a body of five hundred veterans, stationed in garrison at Thala *(b)*, maintained their post against the attempts of Tacfarinas, and even routed the troops lately flushed with victory. In this action Rufus Helvius, a common soldier, obtained the glory of saving the life of a Roman citizen. He was rewarded by Apronius with a spear and collar. Tiberius ordered the civic crown to be added, observing, at the same time, that the proconsul had the power of granting that reward: yet he censured the omission without asperity, pleased that something was reserved for himself.

Tacfarinas, finding his Numidians unwilling, after their defeat, to undertake a siege, changed his plan of operations. He chose a roving kind of war; if the Romans advanced, quick in retreat, and, as soon as the pursuit

was over, wheeling round to hang upon the rear. By this desultory mode of skirmishing, the wily African baffled and fatigued the Roman army, till having ravaged the country near the sea-coast, and loaded his men with booty, he was obliged to pitch his camp. In that situation Apronius Cæsianus, son of the proconsul, at the head of the cavalry, the auxiliary cohorts, and a body of light infantry draughted from the legions, gave battle to the Numidian, and, having gained a complete victory, obliged him to fly to his wilds and deserts.

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XXII. At Rome, in the mean time, a prosecution was carried on against Lepida *(a)*, a woman of illustrious birth, descended from the Æmilian family, and great granddaughter both to Sylla and Pompey. She was married to Publius Quirinius, a citizen of great wealth, far advanced in years, but without children to inherit his estate. The wife was charged with an attempt to pass a supposititious child for his legitimate issue. Other articles were added; such as adultery, dealing in poison, and consultations with Chaldean astrologers concerning the fate of the imperial family. Her brother, Manius

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Lepidus, undertook her defence. Quirinius had repudiated her; and yet, after his divorce, attacked her with implacable resentment. This circumstance, notwithstanding the guilt and infamy of Lepida, rendered her an object of compassion. In the course of the proceeding, the real sentiments of Tiberius eluded all discovery. Fluctuating between opposite passions, he mixed and shifted mercy and resentment in such quick succession, that where he would fix it was impossible to guess. He desired that the crime of violated majesty might be thrown out of the case, and, in a short time after, ordered Marcus Servilius, of consular rank, and the rest of the witnesses, to prove the very facts over which he pretended to draw a veil. He removed the slaves of Lepida, who had been placed under a military guard, to the custody *(b)* of the consuls; nor would he suffer them to be examined under the torture upon any point that concerned himself or his family. He exempted Drusus, though consul elect, from the rule, that required him to give the first vote. This by some was considered as a true republican principle, that the fathers might give their voices, free and uninfluenced by the example of the prince. Others

called it a stroke of subtle cruelty; it being by no means probable, that Drusus would decline to speak in order of time, if a sentence of condemnation had not been already fixed. BOOK III. A. U. C. 773. A. D. 20.

XXIII. The celebration of the public games suspended the trial for some days. In that interval, Lepida, accompanied by a train of illustrious women, entered the theatre *(a)*: in a pathetic strain she invoked her ancestors; she called on Pompey in his own theatre (that monument of grandeur), and addressed herself to the images of that illustrious man. Her grief made an impression; tears gushed from the eyes of the people, and, indignation soon succeeding, bitter execrations were thrown out against Quirinius; "a superannuated dotard, sprung from a mean extraction, to whom, in the decline of life, a noble dame, formerly intended to be the wife of Lucius Cæsar, and, by consequence, the grand-daughter of Augustus, was joined in wedlock, that he, good man! might raise heirs to his estate." Notwithstanding these clamours, the slaves of Lepida were put to the question. Their evidence amounted to full proof of her guilt; and, on the motion of Rubellius Blandus, she was forbid

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the use of fire and water. Even Drusus gave his assent, though a milder sentence would have been agreeable to the wishes of a considerable number. By the interest of Scaurus, her former husband, who had a daughter by her, the confiscation of her property was remitted. At the close of the proceedings, Tiberius informed the fathers, that he had examined the slaves of Quirinius, and their evidence left him no room to doubt of a formed design to poison her husband.

XXIV. The families of the first consequence at Rome began to feel, with regret, that their numbers were thinned by repeated misfortunes. The Calpurnian house had lately suffered by the loss of Piso, and the Æmilian was impaired by the condemnation of Lepida. In order to make some amends, Decius Silanus was restored to the Junian family. The particulars of his case seem to merit some attention. The life of Augustus was variously chequered: he was successful against his country, and in his family often unhappy. The intrigues of his daughter *(a)* and grand-daughter embittered his days. He ordered them both to depart from Rome, and punished the *(b)* adulterers with death or

banishment. To the commerce natural between the sexes, that emperor gave the name of sacrilege and violated majesty; and, under colour of this new device, forgot at once the lenity of former times, and even the laws enacted by himself. But the tragic issue that befel offenders of this kind, with other memorable events of that period, shall be the subject of a distinct history, if, when the work now in hand is finished, my life shall be protracted in health and vigour for a new undertaking.

With regard to Silanus, who had a criminal connection with the grand-daughter of Augustus; his offence drew upon him no greater vengeance, than a total exclusion from the friendship of the emperor. That exclusion, as Silanus understood it, implied a sentence of banishment. He retired into voluntary exile, and never, till the reign of Tiberius, presumed to apply, either to the prince or senate, for permission to return to his country. For the favour extended to him, he was indebted to the weight and influence of his brother, Marcus Silanus, who added to his high rank the fame of distinguished eloquence. Marcus prevailed with the emperor,

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and, in a full meeting of the senate, expressed his sense of the obligation. Tiberius answered, that "the return of Decius Silanus, "after a long absence, was an event agreeable "to all. It was, however, no more than his "legal right. No law had abridged his liberty; no decree of the senate was in force "against him. And yet it was impossible for "the prince to forget the wrongs done to "Augustus; nor could the return of Silanus "either efface his crime, or cancel what had "been settled by an injured emperor." From this time, Decius Silanus lived at Rome, a private citizen, without honours, or preferment.

XXV. The next care of the senate was to soften the rigour of the law Papia Poppæa *(a)*; a law made by Augustus in the decline of life, when the *(b)* Julian institutions were found ineffectual. The policy was, to enforce, by additional sanctions, the penalties of celibacy, and thereby increase the revenue. Marriage, however, was not brought into fashion. To be without heirs *(c)* was still considered as a state that gave great advantages. Prosecutions multiplied, and numbers were every day drawn into danger. Informers were the

interpreters of justice; and chicane and malice wrought the ruin of families. The community laboured, at first, under the vices of the times, and, afterwards, under the snares of law. From this reflection if we here go back to trace the origin of civil institutions, and the progress of that complex system which has grown up to harass mankind, the digression will not be incurious, nor altogether foreign to our purpose.

XXVI. In the early ages of the world *(a)*, men led a life of innocence and simplicity. Free from irregular passions, they knew no corruption of manners; and void of guilt, they had no need of laws. In the natural emotions of the heart they found incitements to virtue, and rewards were unnecessary. Having no inordinate desires, they coveted nothing, and pains and penalties were unknown. In process of time, when all equality was overturned, and, in the place of temperance and moderation, ambition and violence began to trample on the rights of man; then monarchy was established, in several nations unlimited, absolute, and flourishing at this hour. Some states, indeed, in their first formation, or, at least,

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soon after they had made an experiment of kings, preferred a government by law; and law, in its origin, was, like the manners of the age, plain and simple. Of the several political constitutions known in the world, that of Crete, established by Minos; that of Sparta, by Lycurgus; and that of Athens, by Solon, have been chiefly celebrated. In the latter, however, we see simplicity giving way to complication and refinement. At Rome, the reign of Romulus was the reign of despotism. His will was the law. Numa Pompilius introduced the rites and ceremonies of religion, and, by establishing forms of worship, strengthened the civil union. Some improvements were added by Tullus Hostilius, and some by Ancus Martius. But the true legislator was Servius Tullius; the author of that best policy, which made even kings the subjects of the laws.

XXVII. After the expulsion of Tarquin, the people to secure their rights from powerful factions in the senate, and to prevent the effects of civil discord, were obliged to modify the constitution by new regulations. With this view, the decemvirs were created. Those magistrates, by adopting from the wisdom of

other nations what appeared worthy of selection, framed a body of laws, entitled the Twelve Tables. All sound legislation ended there. It is true that, after that time, new statutes were enacted; but, if we except a few, suggested by the vices of the times, and passed on the spur of the occasion, they were, for the most part, made in the conflict of parties, and for the worst of purposes; in some instances, to lay open to ambition the road to honours; in others, to work the downfal of illustrious citizens: and, in general, with pernicious motives. Hence the Gracchi *(a)*, and the Saturnini, those turbulent demagogues; and hence the violent spirit of Drusus *(b)*, that famous partizan of the senate, who, by largesses and open bribery, supported the claims of the nobility, and by specious promises induced the allies of Rome to espouse his cause, deceiving them at first, and, between the senate and the popular leaders, making them in the end, the bubble of contending factions. Hence a wild variety of contradictory laws. In the social war *(c)*, which involved all Italy, and the civil commotions that followed, new ordinances were established, but with the same conten-

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tious spirit, till at length Lucius Sylla *(d)*, the dictator, by repealing several laws, by amending others, and by organizing a code of his own, gave a check to the rage of legislation. But the respite was but short. The fiery genius of Lepidus *(e)* preferred a number of seditious decrees, and the tribunes *(f)* of the people, resuming their ancient powers, alarmed the state with tumult and popular commotions. The general good was no longer thought of: new characters appeared in the great scene of public business, and new statutes were enacted. In a corrupt republic vice increased, and laws were multiplied.

XXVIII. Pompey at length *(a)*, in his third consulship, was chosen to correct abuses, and introduce a reformation of manners. His remedies were more pernicious than the mischief. He made laws, and broke them; he had recourse to arms, and by force of arms was ruined. From that time, during a period of twenty years, the rage of civil discord threw every thing into confusion. Justice was silent; the manners were corrupted; vice triumphed with impunity, and virtue met with sure destruction. At length, Augustus *(b)*

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in his sixth consulship, finding himself established without a rival, repealed the acts passed by himself during the triumvirate, and gave a new system, useful indeed to the public tranquillity, but subversive of the constitution; fit only for the government of one. The chains of slavery were closely riveted *(c)*, and spies of state were appointed. To excite and animate the diligence of those new officers, the law Papia Poppæa held forth rewards. By that law, the people, under the fiction of universal parent, were declared heirs to the vacant possessions of such as lived in celibacy, regardless of the privileges annexed to the paternal character. To enforce this regulation, informers were encouraged. The genius of those men knew no bounds: they harassed the city of Rome, and stretched their harpy-hands all over Italy. Wherever they found a citizen, they found a man to be plundered. Numbers were ruined, and all were struck with terror. To stop the progress of the mischief, Tiberius ordered a set of commissioners, to be drawn by lot; five of consular rank, five prætorians, and a like number from the body of the senate. Under their direction the law was explained; ensnaring subtleties were

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removed; and the evil, though not wholly cured, was palliated for the present.

XXIX. About this time Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, was entering on the state of manhood. Tiberius recommended him to the favour of the senate, adding his request, that the young prince might be excused from serving the office of the vigintivirate *(a)*, with leave, five years earlier than the time limited by law, to stand candidate for the quæstorship. As a precedent for this indulgence he cited the example of Augustus, who had made the like application for himself and his brother Drusus. The proposal was a mockery, and, accordingly, men heard it with derision. Even in the reign of Augustus there were, in all probability, numbers who laughed, in secret, at the new way of commanding by petition. The artifice, however, was at that time not impolitic: the grandeur of the Cæsars was in its infancy, and the forms of the old republic were still remembered. With regard to the request made by Tiberius, it may be observed, that the relation between the step-father and the sons of his wife did not create so tender an interest, as the natural affection of a grand-

father for his grandson. The senate not only granted what was asked, but added a seat in the pontifical college. The day, on which the young prince made his first appearance in the forum, was distinguished by a largess to the people, who saw with pleasure a son of Germanicus rising to the state of manhood. His marriage with Julia *(b)*, the daughter of Drusus, was soon after celebrated, and diffused a general satisfaction. But another match, then in contemplation, between the son *(c)* of Claudius and a daughter of Sejanus, was received by the people with every mark of discontent. Men objected, that the lustre of the imperial family would be tarnished, and the ambition of Sejanus, already suspected, would, when strengthened by that connection, tower above the rank of a citizen.

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XXX. Towards the close of the year died two men of distinguished character, namely, Lucius Volusius, and Sallustius Crispus. The former was of an ancient family, at all times highly honoured, though never raised above the prætorian rank. The deceased was the first of his house that rose to the consulship. When it was afterwards ne-

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cessary to regulate the classes of the equestrian order, he was, for that purpose, advanced to the dignity of censor. In the course of his time he accumulated an immoderate fortune, and laid the foundation of that rank and splendor, in which his family flourished after him.

The ancestors of Crispus were of equestrian rank *(a)*. By the maternal line, he was grand nephew to Caius Sallustius, the accomplished Roman historian. Being adopted by that illustrious writer, he assumed the family name; and, though the road to honours lay open before him, the example of Mæcenas was the model, on which he formed his conduct. Never aspiring to the rank of senator, he lived in a degree of splendor, that eclipsed the consular magistrates, and even the commanders of armies, who had triumphed for their victories. The austerity of ancient manners was not to his taste. In his apparel and equipage he was gay and costly; in his style of living, fond of elegance, and even of luxury. Uniting in his character opposite qualities, he was at once a man of pleasure, and a statesman of consummate ability. The vigour of his mind,

though often relaxed in indolence, was such as qualified him for the most arduous affairs. When occasion called, he returned to business with an elastic spring, that shewed he gained new strength from inactivity. While Mæcenas lived and flourished, Crispus acted the second character. Succeeding afterwards to that minister, he took the lead in the cabinet, the first in favour, and in all secret transactions the confidential manager. Agrippa Posthumus was cut off under his direction. In the decline of life he retained the appearance of power, without the reality; a reverse of fortune which had been felt by Mæcenas, and which, by some fatality, is the usual end of all who bask in the sunshine of a court. Between the prince and his favourite, weariness and satiety succeed to the ardour of affection, and both begin to wean themselves from each other; the prince, when the power of giving is exhausted; and the minister, when avarice has no more to crave.

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XXXI. The year, which we are now to open, stands distinguished by the joint consulship of the father and the son; Tiberius, for the fourth time, and Drusus, the second. It

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is true that, two years before, Germanicus shared the same honour; but their union was not founded in sincerity and mutual esteem. Throughout that year Tiberius beheld his colleague with a malignant eye. The tie of affinity between them was not so close as the present. Tiberius had scarce entered on the office in conjunction with Drusus, when, pretending to recruit his health, he removed into Campania, perhaps even then meditating that long retreat, which was afterwards his plan of life: perhaps, intending to give Drusus the honour of discharging the consular functions, without the assistance of his father. An incident soon occurred, in itself of little moment, but by the heat of party it kindled to a flame, and afforded to the young consul an opportunity to gain the popular esteem. A complaint was made to the senate by Domitius Corbulo, formerly one of the prætors, stating that Lucius Sylla, a youth of illustrious rank, had refused, in a late shew of gladiators, to give place to his superior in point of years. The grave and elderly were on the side of Corbulo. They saw the rights of age infringed, and the example of ancient manners treated with contempt. Mamercus Scaurus

and Lucius Arruntius undertook the defence of Sylla, and with the rest of his relations formed a party in his favour. A warm debate ensued. The practice of good times was stated, and several decrees, enforcing the reverence due to age, were cited as decisive authority. Drusus, by a qualifying speech, allayed the ferment. Corbulo declared himself satisfied with the apology made by Mamercus Scaurus, who was uncle as well as father-in-law *(a)* to Sylla, and, besides, the most eloquent orator of his time. That business being thus amicably settled, the state of the public roads was made the subject of debate by the same Corbulo. The highways, he said, were in a bad condition throughout Italy, neglected every where, and in some places impassable. He imputed the mischief to the fraudulent practices of contractors, and the inattention of the magistrates. He was desired to superintend the business; but the advantage, whatever it was, that accrued to the public, did not counterbalance the ruin of individuals, who suffered, both in reputation and fortune, by the harsh decisions of Corbulo, and the confiscation of their effects.

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XXXII. In a short time after, the senate received dispatches from Tiberius, with intelligence that Africa was again alarmed by the incursions of Tacfarinas. The occasion, the emperor said, required a proconsul of military talents, and vigour equal to the fatigues of war; but the choice was left to the judgment of the fathers. Sextus Pompeius seized this opportunity to launch out in a bitter invective against Marcus Lepidus, whom he styled a man void of courage, destitute of fortune, a disgrace to his ancestors, and by no means fit to be entrusted with the government of Asia *(a)*, which had then fallen to his lot. The senate was of a different opinion. What was called want of courage, according to them, was mildness of disposition; his indigence was a misfortune, not a disgrace; nor could it be deemed a fair objection to a man, who, in narrow circumstances, supported the dignity of his ancestors, and lived in honourable poverty, with an unblemished character. He was therefore declared proconsul of Asia. The choice of a governor to command in Africa was, by a decree, reserved for the decision of the emperor.

XXXIII. In the course of the debate, a motion was made by Cæcina Severus, that the governors of provinces should be no longer accompanied by their wives. He prefaced the business with repeated declarations, that between him and his wife, who had brought him six children, the truest harmony subsisted; and yet the law, which he now proposed, had ever been the rule of his own conduct; insomuch, that in a series of forty years, during which time he had served as many campaigns, his wife always remained in Italy. "It "was with good reason," he said, "that in "former times, women were neither allowed to "visit the allies of Rome, nor to have any in- "tercourse with foreign nations. The softer "sex brought many inconveniences; in times "of peace they were prone to luxury, and in "war, easily alarmed. A female train, in the "march of a Roman army, presented an "image of savage manners: it had the ap- "pearance of Barbarians going to battle.

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"That women are by nature feeble, and "soon overcome by hardship, was not the "only objection: other qualities entered into "the female character, such as pride, revenge,

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" and cruelty, and ambition. The love of " power is the predominant passion of the " sex, and in the exercise of it they know no " bounds. They appear in the ranks ; they " march with the troops ; and they entice the " centurions to their party. We have seen, " in a late instance, a woman *(a)* reviewing " the cohorts, and directing the exercise of the " legions. Have we forgot, that as often as " rapacity and extortion have been laid to the " account of the husband, the wife has proved " the principal offender? She no sooner en- " ters the province, than her party is formed. " The unprincipled attend to pay their ho- " mage. She becomes a politician ; she takes " the lead in business, and gives a separate " audience. The husband and the wife ap- " pear in public with their distinct train of " attendants. Two *(b)* tribunals are esta- " blished, and the female edict, dictated by " caprice and tyranny, is sure to be obeyed. " By the Oppian *(c)* and other laws, the " wife was formerly restrained within due " bounds ; at present, all decorum is laid " aside ; women give the law in families ; they " preside in the tribunals of justice, and " aspire to be commanders in chief."

XXXIV. To this speech a small number assented; the rest received it with a murmur of disapprobation. The business, they said, was not in form before the fathers, and a question of that importance ought not to be drawn into debate by a self-created censor like Cæcina. His argument was answered by Valerius Messalinus; a man who derived from his father Messala *(a)*, the celebrated orator, no inconsiderable share of eloquence. "The "rigour," he said, "of ancient manners has "taken a milder tone. The enemy is not at "the gates of Rome, and the provinces have "no hostile intentions. In favour of the tender sex some concessions ought to be made, "especially since it is now known by experience that the wife, so far from being a burthen to the province, is scarcely felt in the "private œconomy of the husband. She is no "more than a sharer in his splendour and dignity. In time of peace what danger from her "presence? War, indeed, calls for vigour; and "men should go unencumbered to the field. "When the campaign is over, where can the "general so well repose from toil and labour "as in the bosom of a wife, whose tenderness "relieves his pain, and sweetens every care?

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" But women, it has been said, are prone to " avarice and ambition; what shall be said of " the magistrates? Have they been always " free from irregular passions? and if not, will " it follow that men are to be no longer trusted " with the administration of the provinces? " We are told, that the vices of the wife have " their influence on the manners of the hus- " band: and is it therefore true, that in a " life of celibacy we are sure of finding un- " blemished honour?

" The Oppian laws were formerly deemed " expedient: the policy of the times required " them; but the manners have varied since, " and with the manners the law has been mo- " dified. We strive in vain, under borrowed " terms, to hide our own defects: the truth is, " if the wife exceeds the bounds of the female " character, the blame falls on the husband. " In two or three instances we may have seen " that the men were weak and too uxorious: " and shall we for that reason take from the " commander of armies the most endearing " comforts of marriage, the mutual joy in " prosperity, and, in affliction, the balm that " heals his sorrows? By the restraint now

" proposed, the weaker sex will be left in a " state of destitution, the sport of their own " caprice, and a prey to the passions of the " profligate seducer. The presence of the " husband is scarce sufficient to guard the " sanctity of the marriage-bed: what must be " the consequence, if they are separated, and " as it were, divorced for a number of years? " In that interval, the nuptial union may be " obliterated from the mind. Let us, if we " can, prevent disorder in the provinces; but " let us not forget the manners of the ca- " pital."

In this debate Drusus delivered his sentiments. He touched upon the subject of his own marriage, and added, that the princes of the imperial house were liable to the frequent necessity of visiting distant provinces. How often did it happen that Augustus made a progress in the West, and in the East, accompanied by Livia his wife! As to himself, he had commanded in Illyricum, and was ready, if the state required, to serve in any part of the empire; but he should serve with regret, if he was to be torn from an affectionate wife *(b)*, the faithful mother of all his children.

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In consequence of these reasonings, Cæcina's motion fell to the ground.

XXXV. The senate at their next meeting received letters from Tiberius, in which, after complaining obliquely that the burthen of all public business was thrown on himself, he named Manius Lepidus and Junius Blæsus for the proconsulship of Africa; leaving the choice of one of them to the determination of the fathers. Both were heard: Lepidus, with a degree of earnestness, desired to be excused; alleging the infirmities of his constitution, and the care due to his children, who, except a daughter then fit for the married state, were all of tender years. Lepidus had still a better reason, but he chose to suppress it: it was, nevertheless, well understood that Blæsus was uncle to Sejanus, and of course had the prevailing influence. Blæsus in his turn declined the office, but with affected coyness. Flattery knew on which side its interest lay; and, by consequence, the slaves of power knew how to conquer such feeble reluctance. Blæsus was of course appointed.

XXXVI. A public grievance, which had

long been felt with secret discontent, was soon after brought before the fathers. A licentious spirit of defamation prevailed at Rome, and reigned without control. The vile and profligate launched out with virulence against the best members of society, and the statues of the Cæsars were a sanctuary, where the assassins of every honest name found protection. The freedmen, and even the slaves, poured out a torrent of abuse; and, after lifting their hands against their patrons or their masters, resorted to the same asylum, where they grew more formidable in their insolence. Caius Cestius, a member of the senate, complained of this enormity: "Princes," he said, "represented "the gods; but the gods lent a favourable ear "to none but the just. Neither the capitol "nor the temples were places of refuge, where "guilt might find a shelter, and even en- "couragement. In a late prosecution Annia "Rufilla was found guilty of manifest fraud; "and if such a woman might with impunity, "in the forum, and even in the portal of the "senate, insult him with opprobirous lan- "guage, and even with menaces; if such con- "tumacy were permitted, and the emperor's "statue gave a sanction to evil practices, in-

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"somuch that he could obtain no redress; all "good order was at an end, and the laws were "no better than a dead letter." Others spoke to the same effect. Facts still more atrocious were stated, and, with one voice, the whole assembly called on Drusus for exemplary punishment. Rufilla was cited to appear; and, being convicted, the fathers ordered her to be imprisoned in the common jail.

XXXVII. Confidius Æquus and Cælius Cursor, two Roman knights, who had preferred a false charge of violated majesty against Magius Cæcilianus, then one of the prætors, were for that offence condemned, at the desire of Tiberius. From this act of justice, as well as the sentence against Rufilla, Drusus derived no small share of popularity. Men were willing to allow that, by residing at Rome, and by mixing in social meetings, he made some atonement for the dark and sullen spirit of his father. The luxurious passions of a young man were easily excused: Let him, said the people, indulge his taste for pleasure; let him pass his day in the glare of public spectacles, and his night in social revelry, rather than live sequestered from mankind, without a joy

to cheer him, in painful vigils and the gloom of solitude brooding over his cares, and thinking only to engender mischief.

XXXVIII. The ruin of eminent citizens had not yet appeased the rage of Tiberius and his crew of informers. An accusation was preferred by Ancharius Priscus against Cæsius Cordus, proconsul of Crete, for peculation and violated majesty. The last article was, at that time, the burthen of every prosecution *(a)*. Antistius Vetus, a man of the first consequence in Macedonia *(b)*, had been accused of adultery, and acquitted. This gave umbrage to Tiberius. He censured the judges, and ordered Vetus to be tried on the usual charge of violated majesty. He represented him as a man of a turbulent spirit, and an accomplice with Rhescuporis at the time when that Barbarian having put his nephew Cotys to death, was on the eve of a war with Rome. Vetus fell a sacrifice. He was interdicted from fire and water, with an additional sentence, that he should be confined to some island not contiguous either to Macedonia or Thrace.

Since the partition of the latter kingdom

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between Rhæmetalces and the sons of Cotys, to whom Trebellienus Rufus was appointed guardian, that country continued in a state of tumult and hostility to Rome. The people saw, with minds exasperated, the grievances inflicted on the natives, and, having no prospect of redress, accused Trebellienus no less than Rhæmetalces. In the same juncture the Cælaletans, the Odrysæans, Dians, and other adjacent states, in one general revolt, had recourse to arms. They took the field under their own respective chiefs, men of no consideration, and all by their meanness and incapacity reduced to one common level. Hence no concerted plan, no spirit of union. By one party the country was laid waste; another passed over mount Hæmus, with a design to draw distant nations into their confederacy; while the most numerous and best disciplined troops sat down before Philippopolis (a city founded by Philip of Macedon), and there held Rhæmetalces closely besieged.

XXXIX. On the first intelligence of this revolt, Publius Velleius *(a)*, who commanded an army in the neighbourhood, sent a detachment of horse and light infantry in pursuit of

the insurgents, who spread themselves over the country, either with a view to plunder, or to reinforce their numbers. He himself marched in force to raise the siege. He was successful in every quarter: the freebooters were put to the sword; and dissensions breaking out among the besiegers, Rhæmetalces made a sally in the moment when the Roman army came up to his relief. The Barbarians abandoned the place. Of these events, however prosperous, there is no room to speak in the pomp of military language: a rabble of savages without discipline, and almost without weapons, cannot be called an army; nor was that a battle, where the enemy was cut to pieces, without the effusion of Roman blood. BOOK III. A. U. C. 774. A. D. 21.

XL. In the course of the same year a rebellion broke out among the cities of Gaul, occasioned by the load of debt that oppressed the common people. The principal leaders of the revolt were Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir; the former a man of weight among the Treviri, and the latter among the Æduans. They were both of illustrious birth. Their ancestors had deserved well of the Romans, and, for their services, received the freedom

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of the city, at a time when that privilege was rare, and the reward of merit only. By these incendiaries secret meetings were held; the fierce and daring were drawn into the league, together with such as languished in poverty, or, being conscious of their crimes, had nothing left but to grow desperate in guilt. Florus undertook to kindle the flame of rebellion in Belgia; and Sacrovir to rouse the neighbouring Gauls. The plan thus settled, they caballed in private, held frequent meetings, and left no topic untouched that could inflame the minds of the people. "Tributes," they said, "were levied with unabating ri-
" gour; usurious interest oppressed the poor,
" and their haughty masters continued to lord
" it over them with pride and arrogance. By
" the murder of Germanicus, disaffection was
" diffused among the legions, and the oppor-
" tunity to strike the blow for liberty was now
" arrived. Reflect on the numbers we can bring
" into the field: remember the impoverished
" state of Italy. At Rome every warlike prin-
" ciple is extinguished. The strength of their
" armies is mouldered away. They have no
" national strength, but depend altogether on
" foreign nations to fight their battles."

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XLI. A GENERAL spirit of revolt prevailed in every part of Gaul. Scarce a city was free from commotion. The flame blazed out among the Andecavians and the people of Tours; but by the diligence of Acilius Aviola *(a)*, who marched from Lyons at the head of a cohort, the insurgents in the former province were reduced to obedience. The same commander, with a legionary force, detached by Visellius Varro, from the Lower Germany, marched into the territory of Tours, and quelled the insurrection. In this expedition some of the principal chiefs in Gaul joined the Roman army, not with zeal for the cause, but pretending friendship, in order, with surer effect, to be traitors in the end. Even Sacrovir fought with the Romans: he was seen in the heat of action with his head uncovered, in order, as he gave out, to signalize his courage and fidelity: but in truth, as was afterwards collected from the prisoners, to avoid being aimed at by the darts of his countrymen. An account of these disturbances was transmitted to Tiberius. He doubted the intelligence, and by his indecision prolonged the war.

XLII. JULIUS FLORUS in the mean time,

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continued to exert his most vigorous efforts. A regiment of horse, raised formerly among the Treviri, but trained to the Roman discipline, happened to be quartered at Treves. He tampered with those troops, in hopes of beginning the war by a general massacre of the Roman merchants. A small number listened to his advice, but the rest continued in their duty. Florus was followed by a rabble of debtors, and a number of his own dependants. He marched towards the forest of Arden *(a)*, but was intercepted by the legions detached by Visellius and Caius Silius from the two armies on the Rhine. A party of those troops was ordered forward under the command of Julius Indus, a native of Treves, who was then at variance with Florus, and, for that reason, burned with impatience to encounter his enemy. He gave battle to the rebels, and over an ill-appointed and undisciplined multitude gained a complete victory. Florus lay for some time concealed in lurking places; but at length finding himself unable to elude the search of the Roman soldiers, and seeing the defiles and passes guarded on every side, he died by his own sword. The people of Treves, after this event, returned to their duty.

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XLIII. The Æduan commotions were not so easily quelled. The state was rich and powerful, and the force necessary to subdue the insurrection lay at a considerable distance. Sacrovir strained every nerve to support his cause. He seized the city of Augustodunum, the capital of the Æduans, and took into his custody the flower of the young nobility, who resorted thither from all parts of Gaul, as to a school of science and liberal education. By detaining those pledges, he hoped to attach to his interest their parents and relations. He supplied the young men with arms, which had been prepared with secrecy by his directions. His numbers amounted to less than forty thousand, a fifth part of which were armed after the manner of the legions: the rest carried hunting-poles, knives, and other instruments of the chase. He had, besides, pressed into his service a body of slaves reared up to the trade of gladiators, and, according to the custom of the country, clad with an entire plate of iron. In the language of Gaul they were called Crupellarians. Their armour was impenetrable to the stroke of the enemy, but at the same time rendered the men too unwieldy for the attack. The adjoining pro-

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vinces had not taken up arms; but a number of individuals caught the infection, and joined the rebel army. Sacrovir gained a further advantage from the jealousies subsisting between the Roman generals *(a)*. Each claimed to himself the conduct of the war; and the dispute continued till Varro, finding himself impaired by age, gave up the point to Silius, who was then in the vigour of his days.

XLIV. Meanwhile a report prevailed at Rome, that not only the Æduans and the Treviri, but several other cities of Gaul, to the number of sixty-four, had thrown off the yoke. Germany, it was added, had joined the league; and Spain was wavering. The rumour, as usually happens, was magnified by the credulity of the populace. Good men felt for their country; the greater part, detesting the present system, and wishing for nothing so much as a change, enjoyed the confusion, and triumphed in the common danger. Invective did not spare Tiberius. "In a "difficult and alarming crisis, he was busy "in settling the forms of some new prosecu- "tion. Did he mean to proceed by way of "information against Julius Sacrovir? Was

" that chieftain to be accused of violated " majesty? The revolt plainly shewed that " there still existed men of undaunted valour, " who were resolved, at the point of the sword, " to defy his letters written in blood to the " senate; and war, with all its dangers, was " preferable to a sanguinary peace under a " despotic tyrant." Amidst these murmurs of discontent, Tiberius appeared with an unruffled temper, never once changing his look, his place of abode, or his habits of life. Is this to be ascribed to magnanimity? or did he know, by secret intelligence, that the whole was either false, or magnified beyond the truth?

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XLV. Silius, in the mean time, having sent before him a body of auxiliaries, marched at the head of two legions into the territory of the Sequanians, a people at the extremity of Gaul, bordering on the Æduans, and confederates in the war. He laid waste the country, and proceeded, by rapid marches, to Augustodunum. Nothing could equal the ardour of the legions: the standard-bearers with emulation gave every proof of their alacrity; the common soldiers declared, with one voice, that they wanted no repose: the

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night ought not to be lost in sleep; let them but see the enemy, they asked no more; victory was sure to follow. At the distance of twelve miles from Augustodunum, Sacrovir appeared in force. His line of battle was formed on the open plain. The gladiators, in complete armour, were stationed in the centre; his cohorts in the two wings, and his half-armed multitude in the rear. He was himself mounted on a superb horse, attended by a number of chiefs. He rode through the ranks, haranguing his men: he called to mind the glory of their ancestors *(a)*, their brave exploits against the Romans, and the eternal honour of succeeding in the cause of liberty. A defeat, he said, would bring with it infamy, and chains, and bondage.

XLVI. The speech was short, and the soldiers heard it without emotion. The legions advanced in regular order. A band of raw recruits, lately levied in the towns of Gaul, could not sustain a sight so terrible. The faculties of eyes and ears were lost in confusion. By the Romans victory was already anticipated. To exhort them was unnecessary, yet Silius thought proper to inflame their ardour. "The disgrace," he said, "would be

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"great, if the victorious legions, who had "conquered in Germany, were now to consider the Gauls as an equal enemy. The "rebels of Tours have been chastised by a "single cohort; a detachment of the cavalry "crushed the insurgents at Treves; and a "handful of this very army gave the Sequanians a total overthrow. The Æduans "are now before you; not an army, but "an effeminate race, abounding in wealth, "and enervated by luxury. Charge with "valour, and to pursue the runaways will "be your only trouble." This speech was received with a general shout. The rebels were soon hemmed in by the cavalry: the front of their line gave way at the first onset of the infantry, and the wings were put to flight. The men in iron armour still kept their ranks. No impression could be made by swords and javelins. The Romans had recourse to their hatchets and pickaxes. With these, as if battering a wall, they fell upon the enormous load, and crushed both men and armour. Some attacked with clubs and pitchforks. The unwieldy and defenceless enemy lay on the ground, an inanimate mass, without an effort to rise. Sacrovir threw himself into the town of Augusto-

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dunum, but in a short time, fearing to be given up a prisoner, withdrew, with his most faithful adherents, to a villa in the neighbourhood, where he put an end to his life. His followers having first set fire to the place, turned their swords against themselves, and perished in one general carnage.

XLVII. TIBERIUS, at length, thought fit to write to the senate on the subject of these commotions. In one and the same letter he gave an account of the war begun and ended. He neither magnified nor disguised the truth, but in plain terms ascribed the whole success to the valour of his officers, and the wisdom of his councils. Why he did not go in person, or send his son Drusus, the same letter explained his reasons: "The extent and ma-
"jesty of the empire claimed his utmost care.
"It was not for the dignity of the prince,
"on the revolt of one or two cities, to re-
"linquish the seat of government. But now,
"since he could not be supposed to be under
"any kind of alarm, it was his intention to
"shew himself to the provinces, in order, by
"his presence, to allay the ferment, and
"restore the public tranquillity." Vows for his return, and solemn festivals, with other

usual ceremonies, were decreed by the senate. Dolabella, intending to display his genius in the trade of flattery, succeeded so far as to shew his meanness and absurdity. He proposed that the emperor, on his return from Campania, should enter the city with the splendour of an ovation. This occasioned a letter to the senate from Tiberius, wherein he observed, "that after conquering fierce "and warlike nations, and having in his "youth received and declined triumphal "honours, he was not such a novice to glory "as to desire, in the evening of his days, the "vain parade of a public entry, for an ex-"cursion that was little more than a party "of pleasure to the suburbs of Rome."

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XLVIII. About this time Tiberius wrote to the senate, requesting that a public funeral might be decreed to Sulpicius Quirinius *(a)*; a man no way related to the ancient patrician family of the Sulpicii. He was born at Lanuvium, a municipal town: he distinguished himself by his military services, had considerable talents for business, and was raised by Augustus to the honour of the consulship. Having afterwards stormed and taken the strong holds of the Homonadensians in Cilicia,

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he obtained triumphal honours. He attended Caius Cæsar in his expedition to Armenia, the chief director of his councils, and made use of that opportunity to pay his court, with secrecy, to Tiberius, while that prince resided in the isle of Rhodes. This anecdote Tiberius mentioned in his letter; declaring himself, in gracious terms, well pleased with the good offices of Quirinius, and, at the same time, reflecting with a degree of acrimony on Marcus Lollius, to whose conduct he imputed the dissensions between himself and Caius Cæsar. But the character of Quirinius was held in no esteem; his unrelenting prosecution of Lepida, already related, was still remembered; and the sordid avarice of the man, even in old age, and in the height of power, left a stain upon his memory.

XLIX. The year closed with a prosecution of a singular nature. Caius Lutorius Priscus, a Roman knight, was the author of an applauded poem on the death of Germanicus, and for his composition had received a reward from Tiberius. The crime laid to his charge was, that, when Drusus lay ill, he prepared another elegy, from which he hoped,

if the young prince died, to derive still greater emolument. With the vanity of a poet Lutorius read his verses at the house of Publius Petronius, in the presence of Vitellia, the mother-in-law of that senator. Several women of distinction were of the party. As soon as the prosecutor opened the heads of his accusation, the confidential friends of the author were struck with terror. The fact was admitted by all, except Vitellia: she had the memory of a liberal-minded woman, and could recollect nothing. Credit, however, was given to the rest of the evidence. Haterius Agrippa, consul elect, was the first to give his opinion: he proposed that the unfortunate poet should suffer death.

L. Manius Lepidus opposed the motion. He spoke as follows: "If in our deliberations, "conscript fathers, we advert to nothing but "the flagitious sentiments, by which Lutorius "has discovered the malignity of his heart, "and wounded the ear of others, neither the "dungeon, nor the rope, nor the torments, "which the law ordains for slaves, would "be adequate to the enormity of his guilt. "But on the other hand, however great the "depravity of mankind, there are degrees

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" of punishment. The clemency of the prince " interposes often to mitigate the rigour of " the law; the wisdom of our ancestors has " delivered down to us a system of justice " founded in mercy, and you have, on many " occasions, followed their example. If be- " tween error in judgment and malignity of " heart a distinction is to be made, if words and " criminal actions are not to be confounded, " the case before us admits a sentence, which " at once will reach the offence, and leave us " no reason to blush either for our moderation " or our severity. The complaints of the " emperor when the guilty, by a voluntary " death, have prevented the effect of his " clemency, have been heard by us all. Lu- " torius lives; and should he continue to " do so, will the state be in danger? His " death will neither promote the public in- " terest, nor serve as an example to others. " Productions such as his, the effusions of a " wild and irregular fancy, may well be left " to flutter for a time, and then, like all frivo- " lous things, to be forgotten. Nothing se- " rious or important is to be expected from " him, who betrays himself, not in the hearing " of men, but in a circle of women. And " my voice is against him: let him be con-

"demned to exile: let his effects be confis-
"cated; let fire and water be interdicted.
"This is my opinion, the same as I should
"give, had he been in due form convicted
"on the law of violated majesty."

LI. Rubellius Blandus, of consular rank, was the only person that assented to the opinion of Lepidus. The rest concurred with Agrippa. The poet was hurried away, and strangled in a dungeon. Concerning these proceedings, Tiberius wrote to the senate in his usual style, ambiguous and inexplicable. He commended the zeal of the fathers, even in a matter of no importance, but desired that, for the future, words alone should not be punished with so much precipitation. He praised the humanity of Lepidus, yet found no fault with Agrippa. This produced a decree, by which it was enacted, that no sentence of condemnation should, for the future, be sent to the treasury, till the tenth day after passing it; and, in the interval, execution was to be suspended. The fathers, however, were not to have the power of rejudging their own acts, or revoking their sentence. The appeal was to be to Tibe-

BOOK III. rius, and no time could soften that implacable temper.

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LII. Caius Sulpicius and Decimus Haterius were the next consuls. The year was

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free from foreign commotions; but at Rome new laws were expected to check the growth of luxury, and that apprehension spread a general alarm. The prodigality *(a)* of the times had risen to the highest pitch. In many articles of expence, and those the heaviest, the real price might be concealed; but the cost of the table was too well understood. The profusion, with which luxury was maintained, could not remain a secret. It was therefore apprehended, that a prince, addicted to the frugality of ancient manners, would endeavour by severe regulations to control the mischief.

The subject was opened in the senate by Caius Bibulus, one of the ædiles: his colleagues joined to support him. They stated that the sumptuary laws were fallen into contempt. The extravagance in furniture and utensils, though prohibited, grew every day more enormous, insomuch that, by moderate penalties, the mischief was not to be cured.

The senate, without further debate, referred the whole to the consideration of the emperor. Tiberius weighed every circumstance: he knew that passions, which had taken root, could not be easily weeded out of the heart: he considered how far coercive measures might be a public grievance. If an unsuccessful attempt gave a victory to vice, the defeat he saw would be a disgrace to government; and the necessity of waging continual war against the characters and fortunes of the most eminent citizens, was what he wished to avoid. After mature deliberation, he sent his thoughts in writing to the senate, in substance as follows:

LIII. "Upon any other question, conscript fathers, it would perhaps be expedient that I should attend the debate in person, and, in my place, lay before you what I conceive to be for the advantage of the commonwealth. At present, it may be better that my eyes should not survey the scene. In so mixed an assembly, many, no doubt, by their looks and manner, might be apt to betray a consciousness of their own vicious habits. The attention of the senate would naturally fix

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" upon such men, and I should, of course, " be led to watch their behaviour: in that " case, the guilty would, as it were, be taken " in the fact. Had the ædiles, whose zeal " deserves commendation, applied in the " first instance to me, I should, perhaps, " have thought it advisable to connive at " vices that have gathered strength from " time, rather than expose to the world the " inveteracy of the mischief, and the feeble- " ness of legal remedies. Those magistrates, " it must be acknowledged, have performed " their duty with a spirit which every civil " officer would do well to emulate. As to " myself, to remain silent, were a desertion " of the public; and to speak out, may be " impolitic. The part which I sustain is " neither that of ædile, prætor, or consul. " From the emperor something more than " the minute detail of business is expected. " The pre-eminence is painful, while indi- " viduals claim the merit of all the good " that is done, and, if men transgress, the " blame is transferred to the prince. At the " expence of one, all are guilty. If a reform " is in truth intended, where must it begin? " and how am I to restore the simplicity of " ancient times? Must I abridge your villas,

" those vast domains, where tracts of land BOOK III
" are laid out for ornament? Must I retrench A. U. C.
" the number of slaves, so great at present 775.
" that every family seems a nation in itself? A. D. 22.
" What shall be said of massy heaps of gold
" and silver? of statues wrought in brass,
" and an infinite collection of pictures, all
" indeed highly finished, the perfection of
" art? How shall we reform the taste for
" dress, which, according to the reigning
" fashion, is so exquisitely nice, that the (a)
" sexes are scarce distinguished? How are
" we to deal with the peculiar articles of fe-
" male vanity, and, in particular, with that
" rage for jewels and precious trinkets, which
" drains the empire of its wealth, and sends,
" in exchange for bawbles, the money of
" the commonwealth to foreign nations, and
" even to the enemies of Rome?

LIV. " That these abuses are the subject
" of discussion at every table, and the topic
" of complaint in all private circles, I am
" not now to learn. And yet, let a law be
" made with proper sanctions, and the very
" men, who call for a reform, will be

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" the first to make objections. The public " peace, they will say, is disturbed; illus- " trious families are in danger of ruin; " and all, without distinction, must live in " dread of rigorous enquiries, and the harpies " of the law. It is with the body politic as " the body natural: in the latter, chronical " disorders, in time grown obstinate, call for " harsh and violent remedies. Just so in the " distempers of the mind: the heart, sick to " the very core with vice, corrupted and cor- " rupting, requires an antidote as strong as " the poison that inflames our passions. " Many wholesome laws were made by our " ancestors, and many by Augustus: the " former are grown obsolete; and the latter " (to the disgrace of the age) are fallen into " contempt, and, by consequence, luxury " riots without control. The reason is ob- " vious: while there is no law in force to pre- " vent abuses, men proceed with caution, " that the magnitude of the mischief may not " provoke the authority of the legislature; but " when positive institutions are found inade- " quate, the case is very different: unbridled " passions take their course with impunity, " and all transgress without fear or shame.

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"Why was frugality the practice of an-
"cient times? Because each individual was a
"law to himself: he knew how to moderate
"his desires; because we were then the in-
"habitants of a single city. Even Italy,
"when reduced to subjection, afforded but
"few incentives to luxury. Foreign victories
"taught us to dissipate the property of others;
"and the civil wars made us prodigal of our
"own. But after all, is the mischief, which
"the ædiles make the ground of their com-
"plaint, the worst of our grievances? Com-
"pare it with other evils, and it vanishes
"into nothing. Italy stands in need of fo-
"reign supplies, and yet no reformer tells us,
"how much the commonwealth is every day
"at the mercy of the winds and waves. The
"produce of colonies is imported to main-
"tain our pride and luxury, to feed the mas-
"ter of the soil, and to supply his slaves
"with the necessaries of life. Should those
"resources fail, will our groves, our villas,
"and our spacious pleasure-grounds be suf-
"ficient to satisfy our wants? That care is
"left to the sovereign. Should he neglect
"that essential duty, the commonwealth is
"lost. With regard to other evils, the re-

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"medy is in the breast of every individual. "Men of rank may be restrained by princi- "ple, the poor by indigence, and the rich by "satiety. These are my sentiments. If, "notwithstanding, any magistrate should be "of opinion that more may be done; if he feels "within himself vigour and industry to op- "pose the torrent; I honour the firmness "of his character, and cheerfully resign to "abler hands a great part of my own solici- "tude. But when he has declaimed against "corruption, if his zeal is to evaporate "in a florid speech; if the violence of party- "resentments, which his patriot cares have "roused, is to point at me, while the censor "of the manners enjoys the fame of his elo- "quence; believe me, conscript fathers, I am "not more than another ambitious of making "enemies. To encounter animosities, for "the most part unprovoked, and often un- "just, is too much my lot at present; and "yet for the interest of the community, it is "a tax which I am willing to pay. But if "I deprecate new hostilities, permit me, "with your consent, to avoid all such as "may be excited without due consideration, "useless to the state, and to me big with "every disadvantage."

LV. This letter being read, the senate released the ædiles from all farther care about the business. Luxury went on with boundless profusion. It began soon after the battle of Actium *(a)*, and continued to flourish, for the space of a century, down to the time when Galba attained the imperial dignity. At that period the manners changed, and temperance became the fashion. Of this revolution in the modes of life a short account will not be improper. While the old constitution still subsisted, pomp and splendour were often the ruin of the most illustrious families. To conciliate the favour of the populace, and of the allies of Rome, including even kings and princes, was the great object of a Roman citizen. In proportion to his wealth, his grandeur, and the magnificence of his retinue, his importance rose, and with it the number of his clients. But when the best blood in Rome was spilt by imperial tyranny, and to be eminent was to be marked out for destruction; it became the interest of the great to lay aside all vain ostentation, and adopt a more humble plan of life. At the same time, a new race of men from the municipal towns, the colonies, and the provinces, found their way, not only to Rome,

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but even into the senate. The strangers thus incorporated brought with them their natural parsimony. In the course of a long life many of them, either by their own frugality, or a tide of success in their affairs, accumulated immoderate riches; yet even in affluence avarice was their ruling passion. But the cause, which, above all others, contributed to the revival of ancient œconomy, was the character of Vespasian; a man of primitive temperance and rigid austerity. All agreed to imitate so excellent a model. Respect for the prince did more than all the pains and penalties of the law. And yet, it may be true, that in the nature of things there is a principle of rotation, in consequence of which the manners, like the seasons, are subject to periodical changes. Nor is it certain that, in the former ages of the world, every thing was better than in the times that succeeded. The present age has produced, in moral conduct and the liberal arts, a number of bright examples, which posterity will do well to imitate. May the contest with antiquity continue! but let it be a generous emulation for superior virtue; and may that spirit go down to future times!

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LVI. TIBERIUS gained by these proceedings a considerable share of popularity. His moderation, in the business of the intended reform, gave satisfaction to all ranks and conditions. The people saw, with pleasure, the tribe of informers disappointed in their views. In this favourable moment, Tiberius, by letters to the senate, desired that his son Drusus might be invested with the tribunitian dignity. That specious title, importing nothing less than sovereign power, was invented by Augustus, at a time when the name of king or dictator was not only unconstitutional, but universally detested. And yet a new name was wanted to overtop the magistrates and the forms of the constitution. In that power usurped, Marcus Agrippa became his colleague; and, after his death, Tiberius Nero succeeded. By the last promotion, it was the policy of Augustus to mark out the line of succession, and thereby check the views of aspiring men. He was sure that Tiberius would act an under part, and, besides, his own name was a tower of strength. Tiberius, in the present juncture, followed the precedent left by Augustus. During the life of Germanicus, he held the balance even between the two young princes, reserving to himself the

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power of deciding when he should see occasion. In the letter, which opened the matter to the senate, after invoking the gods, and fervently praying, and the measure might be of advantage to the commonwealth, he introduced the character of Drusus, but in a guarded style, never exceeding the bounds of truth. The prince, he said, had a wife and three children, and was then of the age, which he himself had attained *(q)* when raised by Augustus to the same honour. Nor could the favour now requested, be deemed premature. Drusus had gone through a probation of eight years; the proofs of his merit were, seditions quelled, wars happily terminated, the splendour of a triumph, and two consulships. There was therefore no danger that he would be a novice in public business.

LVII. The senate was not taken by surprise: the emperor's intention had been foreseen, and flattery was ready with her servile strain. Invention, notwithstanding, was at a loss for novelty. Statues were decreed to Tiberius and his son; altars were raised to the gods; temples were built, and triumphal arches erected, with other honours of a similar nature. Marcus Silanus aimed at something new.

Willing, at the expence of the consular dignity, to pay a compliment to the princes, he proposed that, in all public and private registers, the year should no longer take its date from the names of the consuls, but from the persons invested with the tribunitian power. Quintus Haterius went still farther; he moved that the decrees of that day should be fixed up in the senate-house in letters of gold. His motion was treated with contempt and ridicule. The fathers saw with indignation a superannuated senator, who on the verge of life, could incur present infamy, without a prospect of future wages.

LVIII. Amidst these transactions, the government of Africa was continued to Junius Blæsus. The proconsulship of Asia, happening then to be vacant, was demanded by Servius Maluginensis, the priest of Jupiter. In support of his claim, he contended, "that the "inability of a priest, in his station, to go out "of Italy, was a vulgar error. The order to "which he belonged, differed in nothing from "that of Mars and Romulus. If the priest "of the two last were eligible to foreign "governments, whence arose his incapacity?

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"No prohibitory law was ever passed by the "people; the books of religious ceremonies "are silent on the subject. In particular "cases, when the ministers of Jupiter were de- "tained, either by illness or by public busi- "ness, one of the pontiffs officiated in his "place. After the tragical death of Corne- "lius Merula (a), a space of no less than se- "venty-six years elapsed, without any no- "mination to the office: did the interests of "religion suffer in the mean time? During "that whole period, the sacerdotal function "was suspended, without prejudice to the "established worship; and why should not "his absence be excused during the year of "his proconsular government? That some "of his predecessors had been restrained by "the authority of the chief pontiff, was a fact "not to be controverted; but the restraint, "in those cases, was the effect of private ani- "mosity. At present, by the indulgence of the "gods, the chief pontiff is the chief of men; "a stranger to all petty jealousies; uninflu- "enced by the cabals of a party, and superior "to the little motives of a private station."

LIX. Lentulus the augur, and several

other senators, opposed the motion. A debate ensued, with so much diversity of opinion, that the question was referred to the decision of the supreme pontiff (*a*). Tiberius was not in haste to determine the point. In his letters to the senate, he mentioned nothing but the honours decreed to Drusus on his elevation to the tribunitian power; and those he thought good to modify with certain restrictions. He censured, in direct terms, the resolution proposed by Silanus, and likewise the motion of Haterius, for fixing up the decrees in letters of gold; condemning both as unconstitutional, and repugnant to ancient usage. Letters from Drusus were, at the same time, read in the senate, modest in the style and turn of expression, but, in the general opinion, denoting pride and arrogance. "Rome," they said, "was "reduced to an humble condition, when a "young man, raised to the highest dignity, "declines to return thanks to the gods in "their own temples; when he disdains to "honour the senate with his presence, and "refuses to attend the usual auspices in his "native city. Was it war that detained "him? or did he dread the inconvenience of a

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"long journey, when he was only visiting the "coast of Campania, or pursuing his pleasures "on the lakes? This is the education of him, "who is to be the future master of the Ro- "man world! He is tutored in the political "school of his father! Tiberius may have "his reasons for withdrawing himself from "the public eye: the infirmities of age, and "the labours of his life, afford a colourable "pretext; but for Drusus what apology can "be made? Pride, rank pride, is his only "motive."

LX. To strengthen the foundation of his own power was the constant policy of Tiberius. Intent on that object, he still preserved the forms of the constitution, and amused the senate with a phantom of liberty. All petitions from the provinces were referred to that assembly. About this time, the right of having sanctuaries *(a)*, and of multiplying the number without limitation, was assumed by all the cities of Greece. The temples in that country were crowded by the most abandoned slaves; debtors screened themselves from their creditors, and criminals fled from justice. The magistrates were no longer able

to controul a seditious populace, who carried their crimes, under a mask of piety, to the altar of their gods. An order was therefore made, that the several cities should send their deputies to Rome, with a state of their respective claims. Some places, finding their pretensions brought to the test, thought proper to decline the enquiry. The rights of others were founded on traditional superstition; and superstition was not willing to renounce her errors. Some of the cities relied on the merit of their ancestors in the service of Rome. The business came at length to a hearing. A day more august and splendid cannot be figured to the imagination. We now behold a Roman senate sitting in judgment on the grants of the old republic; discussing the treaties and conventions of confederate nations; deliberating on the acts of kings, while kings were able to make a stand against the power of Rome; and, above all, reviewing the various systems of religion, which had been for ages established in the belief of mankind. These were the important subjects; and to give still greater dignity to the scene, the senate met, as was the practice in good times, with authority to enquire, and liberty to determine.

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LXI. The case of the Ephesians was the first brought forward. It was stated in their behalf, that Diana and Apollo were not, as generally supposed, born in the isle of Delos, but in the Ortygian Grove, on the banks of the river Cenchris, which flows within the territories of Ephesus. In that sacred recess, Latona, taking shelter under an olive-tree, was delivered of those two deities. The tree was still to be seen in a flourishing state, and the grove became a consecrated spot. It was there that Apollo, after having slain the Cyclops, found a retreat from the vengeance of Jupiter; it was there that Bacchus, after his victories, gave a free pardon to such of the Amazons as fled for protection to the altar; and it was there that Hercules, having conquered Lydia, established a temple, with rites and ceremonies, which neither the Persian kings, nor the Macedonian conqueror, presumed to violate. The Romans at all times paid the strictest regard to the eanctity of the place.

LXII. The Magnesians were the next in order. They relied on the ordinances of Lucius Scipio *(a)*, confirmed and ratified by Lucius Sylla; the former victorious over

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Antiochus, and the latter over Mithridates. In the wars which were waged under their conduct, the Magnesians adhered with fidelity to the cause of Rome; and, to reward their services, the temple of Diana Leucophrynè was, by those commanders, declared a sanctuary. The people of Aphrodisium, and also of Stratonicè, produced a decree of Cæsar the dictator, and another of Augustus, commemorating the zeal, with which those states withstood the Parthian invasion, and preserved to the last their attachment to the interest of Rome. The Aphrodisians claimed the temple of Venus; the Stratoniccans worshipped Jupiter and Diana Trivia. The city of Hierocæsarea deduced their ceremonies from remote antiquity, alleging that they had for ages adored a Persian Diana, in a temple consecrated by Cyrus *(b)*. Several orders made by Perpenna *(c)*, by Isauricus, and other Roman generals, were also cited, whereby it appeared that those sanctuaries, with a precinct two miles round, were declared holy ground. The inhabitants of Cyprus claimed three sanctuaries; the first and most ancient, dedicated by Aerias *(d)* to the Paphian Venus; the second, by Amathus, the son of Aerias, in honour of the

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Amathusian Venus; and the third, to the Salaminian Jove, by Teucer, the son of Telamon, when that hero was obliged to fly from the rage of his father.

LXIII. SEVERAL other cities appeared by their deputies; but the senate, weary of the number, and of the party-spirit, with which different places were espoused, came to a resolution, to refer the whole to the consuls, and wait their report on the merits of each distinctive case. The consuls went through the enquiry. Besides the temples already mentioned, they found at Pergamos the sanctuary of Æsculapius, confirmed by authentic proof. The titles of other places, being all deduced from ages too remote, were lost in the darkness of antiquity. In this number was the oracle of Apollo, by which it was pretended, that the people of Smyrna were commanded to build a temple to Venus Stratonice *(a)*; and another of the same god, directing a temple and a statue to Neptune, in the isle of Tenos. The Sardians, and the people of Miletus, were content with a more modern date. The former relied on the privileges granted by Alexander; and the latter, on the

authority of Darius. Diana was the tutelar deity in one of those cities, and Apollo in the other. The statue of Augustus was held to be a sanctuary by the inhabitants of Crete. Several decrees were passed, with due attention to the religious tenets of the people, yet limiting the number of sanctuaries. These regulations were ordered to be engraved in brass, and fixed up in the respective temples, as lasting monuments, to ascertain the rights now established, and prevent the future claims of national pride, or blind superstition.

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LXIV. About this time a fit of illness threatened the life of Livia. Her danger was so alarming, that it occasioned the emperor's return to Rome. Hitherto the mother and son had lived on terms of mutual regard, or, at worst, with hatred well disguised. Livia, not long before, had raised a statue to Augustus, near the theatre of Marcellus. In the votive inscription her own name preceded that of the emperor. To the jealous temper of Tiberius this was an offence against the imperial dignity. His resentment, however, was suppressed, and, for that reason, was thought to have sunk the deeper. The senate pro-

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ceeded to order supplications for the recovery of Livia, with solemn games on the occasion; in which the pontiffs, the augurs, the college of fifteen, with that of the septemvirs, and the sodality of Augustan priests, were to conduct the ceremonies. Lucius Apronius moved that the *(a)* heralds at arms should likewise officiate. Tiberius opposed the motion. It proceeded, he said, on a mistaken principle. He mentioned the distinct functions of the several orders of the priesthood, and made it clear, from ancient precedents, that the heralds had never been admitted to that participation of honour. The fraternity of Augustan priests was called forth with good reason, since that order belonged, in a peculiar manner, to the family for which public vows were to be offered.

LXV. To give in detail, the several motions and resolutions of the time, is not within the plan of this work. And yet, when virtue and fair integrity do honour to the heart, or when a slavish spirit brands the character, in either case, it is my intention to select the particular instances. In this, I apprehend, consists the chief part of the historian's duty. It

is his to rejudge the conduct of men, that generous actions may be snatched from oblivion, and that the author of pernicious counsels, and the perpetrator of evil deeds, may see, beforehand, the infamy that awaits them at the tribunal of posterity. In general, a black and shameful period lies before me. The age was sunk to the lowest depth of sordid adulation; insomuch that not only the most illustrious citizens, in order to secure their pre-eminence, were obliged to crouch and bend the knee, but men of consular and prætorian rank, and the whole body of the senate *(a)*, tried with emulation which should be the most obsequious slave. We are informed by tradition, that Tiberius, as often as he went from the senate-house, was used to say in Greek, "Devoted men! how they rush headlong in-" to bondage!" Even he, the enemy of civil liberty, was disgusted with adulation: he played the tyrant, and despised the voluntary slave.

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LXVI. From acts of base compliance, the next step of degenerate men was to deeds of horror. Caius Silanus, proconsul of Asia, was accused of rapine and extortion by the

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people of the province. The conduct of the cause was undertaken by Mamercus Scaurus, of consular rank; by Junius Otho, at that time prætor; and Brutidius Niger, one of the ædiles. The complaint was aggravated by an additional charge of irreverence to the divinity of Augustus, and disaffection to Tiberius. Mamercus affected to grace himself by citing the bright examples of a former day *(a)*; Scipio Africanus, he observed, persecuted Lucius Cotta; Cato, the censor, appeared against Servius Galba, and Marcus Scaurus against Publius Rutilius; as if those great and excellent men had instituted prosecutions for constructive crimes like the present; as if Scaurus, the grandfather of the prosecutor, had descended to so vile an office. It was reserved for Mamercus to degenerate into an informer, and tarnish the lustre of his ancestors. Junius Otho, another prosecutor, had been by profession the teacher of a school *(b)*. Raised from that obscurity by the patronage of Sejanus, he obtained a seat in the senate, and hoped by flagitious deeds to efface the meanness of his origin. Brutidius was a different character. Adorned with liberal accomplishments, and formed for great things, he was

sure of reaching the first honours of the state, had he been willing to walk in the paths of virtue. His impatience ruined him. Eager to outstrip his equals, and then to rise over his superiors, he enlarged his views, and began to soar above his most flattering hopes: but his ambition led him to the precipice from which good men have often fallen, when, not content with slow, but sure, success, they have hurried on with too much ardour, and ended their career in ruin.

LXVII. Gellius Poplicola, who had been quæstor to Silanus, and Marcus Paconius, his lieutenant, listed on the side of the prosecution. Silanus, beyond all doubt, was guilty both of rapine and oppression; but in his case a number of circumstances, dangerous even to innocence, conspired against him. Besides the persons already mentioned, the most able orators of Asia, men who were chosen on account of their eloquence, united their strength. Against that powerful combination, Silanus stood alone, obliged, without any powers of oratory, to make his own defence with fear and trembling; a situation that might disarm the noblest talents. Tiberius

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helped to increase his difficulties. With a stern tone of voice, and a contracted brow, he pressed the defendant with sudden questions, never suffering him to pause a moment, either to repel or elude the charge. Silanus was obliged to admit several points, rather than seem to refute or baffle the enquiry of the emperor. His very slaves, to make them competent witnesses, were sold by auction to the public officer; and, to make destruction sure, Tiberius added the crime of violated majesty, that none of the prisoner's family or friends might presume to assist in the defence. Silanus desired an adjournment of a few days. In that interval, abandoning all his hopes, he sent a memorial to Tiberius, in a style sufficiently humble, but still with the spirit of a man who felt himself oppressed, and dared to speak the language of reproach.

LXVIII. Tiberius remained inflexible; but, to give the colour of precedent to his final sentence, he ordered the proceedings against Volesus Messala *(a)* (who had also been proconsul of Asia), with the record of Augustus, and the decree made on that occasion, to be read. He then collected the votes, beginning

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with Lucius Piso. That senator, after some flourishes in praise of the emperor's clemency, concluded, that Silanus should be interdicted from fire and water, and banished to the isle of Gyarus *(b)*. The fathers concurred in the same opinion, when Cneius Lentulus proposed, by way of mitigation, that the estate which descended to Silanus from his mother, should not be included in the general forfeiture, but vested in the grandson. Tiberius agreed to the amendment. The business seemed to be at an end, when Cornelius Dolabella rose to shew, that his servile spirit had not deserted him. He launched out into a sharp invective against the morals of Silanus, grafting on it a motion, that no man of dissolute manners should be eligible to the government of provinces; and of this incapacity the emperor should be the sole judge. "When a crime is committed, the law "takes cognizance of it, and inflicts the pu-"nishment. But a law to prevent the offence, "would be at once an act of mercy to bad "men, and a blessing to the provinces."

LXIX. Tiberius spoke in reply: "To "the reports," he said, "which were current "to the disadvantage of Silanus, he was no

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"stranger. But laws ought to have a bet-
"ter foundation than public rumour. The
"governors of provinces had often disap-
"pointed the hopes, and sometimes the fears
"of mankind. By important scenes of action
"the powers of the mind are roused; the
"heart expands to meet the occasion; while,
"on the other hand, feeble spirits shrink from
"a great opportunity, and grow less by ele-
"vation. The prince can never be fully in-
"formed; and it is not fit that he should see
"with the eyes of others. The arts of am-
"bitious rivals may deceive him. In human
"affairs nothing can be foreseen with certainty,
"and without facts, laws can have no opera-
"tion. Till men have acted, they cannot be
"judged. It was the wisdom of our ancestors
"to keep the sword of justice in the scabbard,
"till actual offences drew it forth. In a system
"so just in itself, and so long established, in-
"novations ought not to be rashly made. The
"cares of government are a burthen to the
"sovereign, and his prerogative wants no en-
"largement. Extend his authority, and you
"abridge the rights of the subject. When the
"laws in being are sufficient, there is no oc-
"casion to resort to the will of the prince."

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This was, no doubt, a constitutional speech. From a man little studious of popularity, it was received with universal approbation. Tiberius did not stop here: when his own private resentment was not provoked, he knew that moderation was the best policy: with that view he thought proper to add, that Gyarus was a dreary island, uncultivated, and inhospitable. In honour, therefore, of the Junian family, and from motives of lenity to a man who was a member of the senate, he proposed to change the place of banishment to the isle of Cythera: and this, he said, was the request of Torquata, sister to Silanus, and a vestal virgin of distinguished sanctity. The fathers complied, and a decree was passed accordingly.

LXX. The Cyrenians presented a charge of rapine against Cæsius Cordus. Ancharius Priscus conducted the prosecution, and sentence of condemnation was pronounced. Lucius Ennius, a Roman knight, who had melted down a silver statue of the emperor, and converted it to domestic uses, was accused on the law of majesty. Tiberius stopt the proceedings. Against this act of lenity Ateius

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Capito *(a)* protested openly; contending, with an air of ancient liberty, that "the right of the "senate to hear and determine, ought not to "be retrenched; especially when a crime of "that magnitude called for vindictive justice. "The prince, in his own case, might be slow "to resent; but let him not be generous at the "expence of the public." This language, blunt as it was, gave no offence to Tiberius: he saw the drift of the speech, and, disregarding the tone with which it was uttered, persisted in his resolution. Capito brought disgrace on his name. Accomplished as he was in the science of laws both human and divine, he possessed, besides, a number of virtues that adorned his private character; but by this act of servile flattery he sullied the lustre of a distinguished name.

LXXI. A QUESTION that concerned a point of religion was the next subject of debate. The Roman knights had vowed a statue, for the recovery of Livia, to FORTUNE THE EQUESTRIAN. In what temple this should be placed was the doubt. At Rome there were various structures sacred to the goddess, but none under that specific title. Upon enquiry it was found

that there was at Antium *(a)* a temple with that particular denomination; and it being considered that the whole system of rites and ceremonies, and the several temples and images of the gods throughout Italy, were subject to the supreme authority of Rome, it was resolved that the votive present should be placed at Antium. This being a point of religious ceremony, Tiberius took the opportunity to determine the question, which had been for some time in suspense, concerning Servius Maluginensis, the priest of Jupiter. He produced and read a decree of the pontifical college, whereby it appeared that the priest of Jupiter, when his health required it, or when he obtained a dispensation from the supreme pontiff, might absent himself from the duties of his function two nights at most; provided it was not during the public ceremonies, nor more than twice in the course of the year. From this regulation made by Augustus, it was evident that a year's absence, and of course a proconsular government, was incompatible with the sacerdotal function. The authority of Lucius Metellus *(b)*, who, when high pontiff, would not suffer Aulus Posthumius, a priest of Jupiter, to depart from

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Rome, was also cited. It followed, that the province of Asia could not be granted to Maluginensis. It fell to the lot of the person of consular rank, who stood next in seniority.

LXXII. DURING these transactions, Marcus Lepidus petitioned the senate for leave to repair and decorate, at his own expence, the basilick of Paulus *(a)*, that noble monument of the Æmilian family. The display of private munificence in public works, which embellished the city, was not yet fallen into disuse. In the reign of Augustus, without any objection from that emperor, Taurus *(b)*, Philippus, and Balbus, with the spoils which they had taken from the enemy, or with the superfluity of their own immoderate wealth, added greatly to the ornament of Rome, and, by consequence, to the honour of their families. Encouraged by this example, but with a fortune much inferior, Lepidus revived the glory of his ancestors. The theatre of Pompey had been destroyed by fire; and, the remaining branches of the family not being equal to the expence of so great a structure, Tiberius declared his intention to build a new edifice, with the original name. He congratulated the se-

nate, that the damage occasioned by the late fire, was confined to that single building. For this, he said, they were obliged to the vigilance of Sejanus. The senate decreed a statue *(c)* to be placed in the theatre of Pompey, in honour of the favourite. In a short time afterwards, when triumphal ornaments were granted to Junius Blæsus, the proconsul of Africa, Tiberius made no scruple to declare, that his motive for bestowing that high reward, was to pay a compliment to Sejanus, as the proconsul was his uncle.

LXXIII. Blæsus, however, had fairly earned his honours. Tacfarinas, often repulsed, was never defeated. He found resources in the interior parts of Africa, and returned to the conflict with new vigour. He had at length the arrogance to send an embassy to Tiberius, demanding lands for himself and his army, or nothing should make an end of the war. Tiberius, it is said, was upon no occasion so little master of himself. "It was an insult to the "imperial majesty, and the Roman name. "Shall a deserter, a wandering vagabond, pre-"sume to treat on equal terms? Even Spar-"tacus *(a)*, though he had defeated consular

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"armies, and spread desolation with sword "and fire through the realms of Italy, was "not allowed to negotiate terms of peace, "though the commonwealth, at that time, "was well nigh exhausted by Sertorius *(b)*, "and the Mithridatic war. Even then, no "compromise was admitted; the dignity of "the state was saved. And shall a flourish- "ing empire descend so low as to compound "with Tacfarinas, and, by granting lands, be- "come the purchaser of peace at the hands of "a freebooter and a robber?" Stung by these reflections, Tiberius ordered Blæsus to seduce the followers of Tacfarinas by promises of a free pardon to all who should lay down their arms; but as to their chief, he must strain every nerve to secure the person of that daring adventurer.

LXXIV. The promised amnesty reduced the numbers of the enemy; and Blæsus, adopting a new mode of war, turned the arts of the wily Numidian against himself. Unequal to the legions in a pitched battle, Tacfarinas depended altogether upon the rapidity of his motions: he divided his men into small parties; he shewed himself in sudden incur-

sions, fled before a regular force, and knew where to lie in ambush. The Romans accordingly marched in three columns, by as many different routes. In the quarter where the Africans ravaged the country near Leptis, and then fled for shelter to the Germantes, Cornelius Scipio, the proconsul's lieutenant, advanced with his division. In another quarter, where Cirta lay exposed to the Barbarians, the younger Blæsus, the proconsul's son, commanded a second detachment. In the intermediate part of the country, the commander in chief marched at the head of a chosen body of troops. At all convenient places he threw up entrenchments, and appointed garrisons, securing every station by a regular chain of posts.

The Barbarians found themselves counteracted on every side. Wherever they turned, the Romans were at hand, in front, in flank, and in the rear. Numbers were surrounded, and either put to the sword, or taken prisoners. To spread the alarm, the Roman army was again subdivided into smaller parties, under the command of centurions of approved valour and experience. Nor was the campaign

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closed, as usual, at the end of the summer. Instead of retiring to winter-quarters in the old provinces, Blæsus kept the field; he increased the number of his posts and garrisons, and sent out detachments, lightly armed, with guides acquainted with the course of the country. Tacfarinas could no longer stand at bay. He shifted his huts *(a)*, and wandered from place to place. At length his brother was taken prisoner, and Blæsus thought it time to close the campaign. His retreat was sudden and premature. The province was still open to incursions; and the flame of war, though suppressed, was not extinguished. Tiberius, however, considered the enemy as completely vanquished. Besides the honours already granted to Blæsus, he ordered that the legions should salute him by the title of IMPERATOR, according to the ancient custom of the Roman armies, in the pride of victory flushed with the generous ardour of warlike spirits. In the time of the republic, this was a frequent custom, insomuch that several, at the same time, without pre-eminence or distinction, enjoyed that military honour. It was often allowed by Augustus, and now by Tiberius, for the last time. With him the practice ceased altogether *(b)*.

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LXXV. Rome, in the course of this year, lost two illustrious citizens: the first was Asinius Saloninus *(a)*, grandson both to Marcus Agrippa and Asinius Pollio, half-brother to Drusus, and, besides, the intended husband of the emperor's grand-daughter. The second was Ateius Capito *(b)*, already mentioned; a man for his abilities and his knowledge of the laws, of the first eminence in the state. From his birth he derived no advantage. His grandfather was a centurion under Sylla: his father rose to the rank of prætor. Capito was, with rapid speed, advanced by Augustus to the consular dignity, and, by that promotion, placed above his competitor, Antistius Labeo, who had grown into celebrity by his talents and his skill in jurisprudence. It was the peculiar felicity of that age to see flourishing together those two illustrious rivals, who, in peaceable times, were the ornaments of their country. The fame of Labeo *(c)* rose on the surest foundation; he was a strenuous asserter of civil liberty, and for that reason the favourite of the people. Capito knew his approaches to the great, and by his flexibility became a favourite at the court of Augustus. Labeo was not suffered to rise above the prætorian

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rank; but that act of injustice raised his popularity: while, on the other hand, Capito obtained the consulship, and with it the public hatred.

LXXVI. In this year also, the sixty-fourth *(a)* from the battle of Philippi, Junia, niece to Cato, sister of Brutus, and the widow of Cassius, paid her debt to nature. Her will engrossed the public conversation. Possessed of immoderate riches, she left marks of her regard to almost all the eminent men at Rome, without mention of Tiberius. The omission gave no umbrage to the emperor. He considered it as the exercise of a civil right, and not only suffered her funeral panegyric to be spoken from the rostrum, but allowed the last ceremonies to be performed with the usual pomp and magnificence. In the procession were seen the images of the most illustrious families, in number not less than twenty; the Manlii, the Quintii, and others of equal rank. Those of Brutus and Cassius *(b)* were not displayed; but for that reason they were present to every imagination, and with superior lustre eclipsed the splendor of the day.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK IV.

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These transactions include six years.

Years of Rome	Of Christ.	Consuls.
776	23	*Caius Asinius Pollio, Caius Antistius Vetus.*
777	24	*Sergius Cornelius Cethegus, Lucius Visellius Varro.*
778	25	*Marcus Asinius Agrippa, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus.*
779	26	*Cornelius Lentulus Gætulicus, Caius Calvisius Sabinus.*
780	27	*Marcus Licinius Crassus, Lucius Calpurnius Piso.*
781	28	*Appius Junius Silanus, Publius S. Nerva.*

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BOOK IV.

I.

THE consuls for the year, on which we are now entering, were Caius Asinius, and Caius Antistius. Tiberius had reigned nine years. During that time a state of profound tranquillity prevailed at Rome, and the emperor saw the imperial family flourishing with undiminished lustre. The loss of Germanicus gave him no regret; on the contrary, he reckoned that event among the prosperous issues of his reign. But fortune now began to change the scene, and a train of disasters followed. Tiberius threw off the mask: he harassed the people by acts of cruelty, or, which was equally oppressive, by his

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authority encouraged the tyranny of others. Of this revolution Ælius Sejanus, commander of the prætorian guards, was the prime and efficient cause. The power and influence of that minister have been already mentioned. I shall here give the origin of the man, the features of his character, and the flagitious arts, by which he aspired to the supreme power.

He was born at Vulsinii *(a)*, the son of Seius Strabo *(b)*, a Roman knight. He attached himself, in his early youth, to Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus. Even at that time he laboured under a suspicion of having prostituted his person to the infamous passions of Apicius *(c)*, a rich and prodigal voluptuary. By various arts he afterwards gained an entire ascendant over the affections of Tiberius, insomuch that the temper of that prince, to the rest of mankind dark and inscrutable, became to him alone unclouded, free, and complying. This influence, however, was not the effect of superior ability; since Sejanus, in the end, fell a victim to the policy of that very prince, whom he deceived at first. A phænomenon so very extraordinary can be ascribed to no-

thing less than the wrath of the gods, incensed against the Roman state. Whether the public suffered most by the elevation *(d)*, or the downfal, of that pernicious minister, it is difficult to determine. His frame of body was vigorous, robust, and patient of labour; his spirit, bold and enterprising; in his own conduct a profound dissembler, and to others a sharp and dangerous accuser. With pride that swelled to arrogance, he had the meanness that could fawn and flatter; and, under the outward calm of moderation, he nourished in his heart the most unbounded ambition. Profusion, luxury, and largesses, were often his means, but more frequently application to business, and indefatigable industry; virtues that take the name of vice, when they play an underpart to inordinate passions and the lust of domination *(e)*.

II. The commission over the prætorian bands had been always of a limited nature. Sejanus enlarged his powers to a degree unknown before. He had the address to collect into one camp the whole corps of the guards, till that time quartered in various parts of Rome. Being embodied, they received their orders with submission; habit

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and constant intercourse established a spirit of union, and, knowing their numbers, they grew formidable to their fellow-citizens. The pretext for this measure was, that the soldiery grew wanton in idleness, but, when encamped, they might be drawn forth, with better effect, in any sudden emergence, and being confined within their entrenchments, at a distance from the vices of the metropolis, they would act with greater vigour whenever required. This plan being settled, Sejanus began his approaches to the affections of the soldiers: by affability and caresses, he glided into favour; he appointed the tribunes and centurions; he endeavoured to seduce the senators by corruption: he promoted his creatures, and, at his pleasure, bestowed honours and provinces. All this was done, not only with the consent, but with the most complying facility on the part of Tiberius, who now declared openly in favour of the minister, styling him, in private conversation, his associate in the cares of government, and using the same language even to the senate. Nor did he stop here: he allowed the images of his favourite to be worshipped in the theatre, in the forum, and, at the head-quarters of the legions, in the place

appropriated *(a)* for the standards and the eagles.

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III. As yet, however, the imperial family was in a flourishing state. To secure the succession there was no want of Cæsars. The emperor's son *(a)* was in the prime of manhood, and his grandsons in the flower of youth. These were obstacles to the views of Sejanus. To assail them with open force, were big with danger; and fraud requires delay, and intervals of guilt. He resolved to work by stratagem. Drusus, against whom Sejanus was inflamed by recent provocations, was marked out as the first victim. It happened that Drusus, impatient of a rival, and by nature fierce, raised his hand, in some sudden dispute, against Sejanus; and that haughty minister, advancing forward, received a blow on the face. Stung with indignation, he thought no expedient so sure, as the gaining of the younger Livia *(b)*, the wife of Drusus, to his interest. The princess was sister to Germanicus; and though, in her younger days, she had no elegance either of shape or feature, she was now grown up in the most perfect form of regular beauty. Sejanus made his advances with the ardour of

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a lover. Having triumphed over her honour, he found another step in guilt no difficult matter. A woman, who has sacrificed her virtue, soon resigns every other principle. Engaged in a course of adultery, she was led by degrees to embrace the project of murdering her husband, in order to marry her paramour, and mount with him to the imperial dignity.

In this manner a woman of illustrious rank, the niece of Augustus, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, and the mother of children by Drusus, disgraced herself, her ancestors, and her posterity, by a vile connection with an adulterer from a municipal town, renouncing the honours which she possessed, for the uncertain prospect of flagitious grandeur. Eudemus *(c)*, the confidential friend and physician of the faithless wife, was drawn into the conspiracy. Under colour of his profession, this man had easy access to Livia. Sejanus listed him into his service; and that the harmony between himself and the adultress might be undisturbed by jealousy, he repudiated his wife Apicata, by whom he had three children. But still the magnitude of the crime filled their minds

with terror: they fluctuated between opposite counsels; they resolved, they hesitated; delay, and doubt, and confusion followed. BOOK IV. A. U. C. 776. A. D. 23.

IV. In the beginning of this year, Drusus, the second son of Germanicus, put on the manly robe *(a)*. The honours, which had been decreed to his brother Nero, were renewed by a vote of the fathers. Tiberius, in a speech upon the occasion, commended the tender regard with which his son protected the children of Germanicus. The truth is, Drusus (though in high stations and among rivals sincerity is seldom found) had acquitted himself towards his nephews, with all decent attention, at least without hostility. Amidst these transactions, the old project of visiting the provinces, often intimated, but never in earnest, was revived by Tiberius. For this expedition the ostensible reasons were, the number of veterans entitled to their dismission from the service, and the necessity of recruiting the army with effective men. Of such as voluntarily offered, the number he said was small, and even of those the greatest part were a set of distressed and profligate vagabonds, destitute of courage, and strangers to military discipline. He

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added a list of the Roman legions, specifying the provinces where they were stationed. A review of that estimate will not be useless, or unacceptable, since it will exhibit the national strength at that period, the kings in alliance with Rome, and the narrow limits *(b)* of the empire, compared with the extent to which they have been since enlarged.

V. In the seas *(a)* that on each side wash the coast of Italy, two fleets were stationed; one at Misenum, the other at Ravenna. The maritime parts of Gaul, adjacent to Italy, were guarded by the large galleys, which were taken at the battle of Actium, and sent by Augustus to Forojulium, well provided with able seamen. But the chief strength of the empire was on the Rhine *(b)*, consisting of eight legions, to bridle at once the Germans and the Gauls. Spain, lately subdued, was held in subjection by three legions. Juba *(c)* reigned in Mauritania, deriving his title from the favour of Rome. The rest of Africa was kept in awe by two legions. A like number served in Egypt. In that vast extent of country, which stretches from Syria to the

Euphrates, bordering on the confines of Iberia, Albania, and other states under the protection of the Roman arms, four legions maintained the rights of the empire. Thrace was governed by Rhæmetalces *(d)* and the sons of Cotys. The banks of the Danube were secured by four legions, two in Pannonia, and two in Mæsia. Two more were stationed in Dalmatia, in a situation, if war broke out at their back, to support the other legions; or if a sudden emergence required their presence, ready to advance by rapid marches into Italy. Rome at the same time had her own peculiar forces, namely, three city cohorts *(e)* and nine of the prætorian bands, raised for the most part in Etruria, Umbria *(f)*, ancient Latium, and the colonies of the old republic. To this national strength must be added the naval armaments of the allies, placed at proper stations *(g)*, together with their infantry and cavalry, forming, in the whole, a body of troops, not inferior in number to the Roman army. But of the foreign auxiliaries it is impossible to speak with precision. They were shifted from place to place, with numbers now augmented, and now reduced, as occasion re-

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quired; and, by consequence, an accurate estimate cannot be expected.

VI. To this survey of the empire if we add a view of the constitution, and the manner in which the government was administered by Tiberius, from the beginning of his reign to the present year, the fatal æra of tyranny and oppression, the enquiry will not be foreign to our purpose. In the first place, not only the affairs of state, but all questions of importance between the citizens of Rome, were referred to the wisdom of the senate. The leading members of that assembly claimed and exercised full freedom of debate: and when they deviated into flattery, the prince was sure to reject the nauseous strain. In dispensing the honours of government, he had an eye to nobility of birth, to personal merit, and to talents as well civil as military. His choice, it was generally agreed, was made with judgment. The consuls and the prætors enjoyed the ancient honours of their rank and dignity. The subordinate magistrates exercised their functions without controul. The laws, if we except those of violated majesty *(a)*, flowed in their regular channel. The tributes and duties,

whether of corn or money, were managed by commissioners chosen *(b)* from the Roman knights. The revenues appropriated to the prince were conducted by men of distinguished probity, and frequently by such, as were known to Tiberius by their character only. Being once appointed, they were never removed. Several, it is well known, grew grey in the same employment. The people, it is true, often complained of the price of corn; but the grievance was not imputable to the emperor. To prevent the consequences of unproductive seasons, or losses at sea, he spared neither money nor attention. In the provinces no new burthens were imposed, and the old duties were collected without cruelty or extortion. Corporal punishment was never inflicted, and confiscation of men's effects was a thing unknown.

VII. In Italy the land-property of the emperor was inconsiderable. Good order prevailed among his slaves. His freedmen were few, and his household was managed with œconomy. In all questions of right between the emperor and individuals, the courts of justice were open, and the law decided. And

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yet to this equitable system he did not know how to add a gracious manner: the austerity of his countenance struck men with terror. He continued, however, in the practice of rigid, though not amiable, manners, till the death of Drusus *(a)*. While that prince survived, Sejanus thought it prudent to advance by slow degrees. He dreaded the resentment of a young man, who did not seek to disguise his passions, but complained aloud, "that the "emperor, though he had a son to succeed "him, preferred a stranger to a share in the "administration. How little was that upstart "minister removed from being a colleague in "the empire! The road of ambition is at "first a steep ascent; but the difficulty once "surmounted, the passions of designing men "list in the enterprize, and tools and agents "are ready at hand. The favourite is already "master of a camp, and the soldiers wait his "nod. Among the monuments of Pompey "we behold his statue: the grand-children of "this new man will be allied in blood to the "family of Drusus *(b)*. What remains, but "humbly to hope that he will have the mo-"desty to stop in his career, content with "what he has already gained?" Such was the discourse of Drusus, not occasional but

constant; not in private circles, but at large, and without reserve. His inmost secrets were also known: his wife had forefeited her honour, and was now a spy upon her husband. BOOK IV. A. U. C. 776. A. D. 23.

VIII. In this posture of affairs, Sejanus thought he had no time to lose. He chose a poison, which, operating as a slow corrosive, might bring on the symptoms of a natural disorder. Lygdus the eunuch (as was discovered eight years afterwards), *(a)* administered the draught. While Drusus lay ill, Tiberius, never seeming to be in any degree alarmed, or, it may be, willing to make a display of magnanimity, went as usual to the senate. Even after the prince expired and before the funeral ceremony was performed, he entered the assembly of the fathers. Perceiving the consuls, with dejected looks, seated on the ordinary benches, like men who mourned for the public loss, he put them in mind of their dignity, and their proper station. The senate melted into tears: but Tiberius, superior to the weakness of nature, delivered an animated speech, in a flowing style, and a tone of firmness. "He was not," he said, "to be informed that his appearance might

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" be thought unseasonable in the moment " of recent affliction, when, according to " the general custom, the mind, enfeebled " with sorrow, can scarce endure the con- " solation of friends, and almost loathes " the light of the sun. Those tender emo- " tions were the condition of humanity, and, " therefore, not to be condemned. For his " part, he sought a manly remedy; in the " embraces of the commonwealth, and in the " bosom of the fathers, he came to lay down " his sorrows. He lamented the condition " of his mother, drooping under the infirmi- " ties of age, the tender years of his grandsons, " and his own situation, now in the decline " of life. The children of Germanicus, in " the present distress, were the only remain- " ing hopes of the people. He desired that " they might be brought before the fathers."

The consuls went forth to meet the princes. Having prepared their tender minds for so august a scene, they presented them to the emperor. Tiberius, taking them by the hand, addressed the senate: " These orphans, con- " script fathers, I delivered into the care of " their uncle; and, though he was blessed

"with issue, I desired that he would cherish "them as his own, and train them up in a "manner worthy of himself and of pos- "terity. But Drusus is no more: I now "turn to you, and, in the presence of the "gods, in the hearing of my country, I im- "plore you, take under your protection the "great grand-children of Augustus; adopt "the issue of an illustrious line; support "them, mould them at your pleasure for the "good of the state; perform at once my duty "and your own. As for you, Nero, and you, "Drusus, in this assembly you behold your fa- "thers: born as you are in the highest station, "your lot is such, that nothing good or evil "can befal you, without affecting, at the same "time, the interest of the commonwealth."

IX. This speech drew tears from the whole assembly: vows and supplications followed. Had Tiberius known where to stop, instead of adding what exceeded the bounds of probability, every heart would have been touched with sympathy, and every mind impressed with the glory of the prince. But by recurring to the stale and chimerical project, so often heard with derision, the project of ab-

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dicating the sovereignty, and resigning the reins of government to the consuls, or any other person willing to undertake the task, he weakened the force of sentiments in themselves just and honourable. The solemnities which had been decreed to the memory of Germanicus, were renewed in honour of Drusus, with considerable additions, agreeable to the genius of flattery, always studious of novelty. The funeral ceremony was distinguished by a long train of illustrious images. In the procession were seen Æneas, the father of the Julian race: the Alban kings; Romulus, the founder of Rome; the Sabine nobility, with Attus Clausus *(a)* at their head, and from him the whole line of the Claudian family.

X. In this account of the death of Drusus, the best and most authentic historians have been my guides. A report, however, which gained credit at the time, and has not yet died away, ought not to be omitted. It was currently said, that Sejanus, having gained the person and the heart of Livia, proceeded to a fouler intrigue with Lygdus the eunuch, and, by an infamous amour, drew to his interest that tool of iniquity, who was one of

the domestic attendants of Drusus, and, for his youth and the graces of his person, high in favour with his master. The time and place for administering the poison being settled by the conspirators, Sejanus had the hardihood to change his plan. He contrived by secret insinuations, to charge Drusus with a plot against his father's life, and dared to whisper a caution to Tiberius, not to taste the first cup that should be offered to him at his son's table. Deceived by this stroke of perfidy, the old man received the cup, and presented it to his son. The prince, with the frankness and gaiety of youth, drank it off: but that alacrity served only to confirm the suspicions entertained by the emperor. His conclusion was, that Drusus, overwhelmed with fear and shame, was in haste to give himself the death, which he had prepared for his father.

XI. A REPORT of this kind, current among the populace, but unsupported by any good authority, cannot stand the test of examination. What man of plain common-sense, not to speak of a consummate statesman like Tiberius, would present inevitable death to

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his only son, without so much as hearing him, and thus precipitately commit a fatal deed, never to be recalled? Would it not have been more natural to put the cup-bearer to the torture? Why not enquire who mixed the liquor? Above all, is it probable that Tiberius, ever slow and indecisive, would at once forget the habits of his nature, and, in the case of an only son, a son too never charged with any crime, act with a degree of rashness, which he had never practised to the remotest stranger? The truth is, Sejanus was known to be capable of every species of villainy, however atrocious: the partiality of the emperor increased the number of his enemies; and, both the sovereign and the favourite being objects of public detestation, malignity itself could frame no tale so black, and even improbable, that men were not willing to believe.

The death of princes is always variously reported, and common fame is sure to add a tragic catastrophe. Some years afterwards, the particulars of the murder were brought to light by Apicata, the widow of Sejanus, and confirmed by Eudemus and Lygdus on

the rack. In the number of historians, who were envenomed against Tiberius, and with diligence collected anecdotes to wage eternal war against his memory, not one has gone so far as to impute to him a share in this foul transaction. The story, however, such as it is, I have represented in its native colours, willing to flatter myself that, by so glaring an instance, I may destroy the credit of fabulous narrations *(a)*, and prevail with the reader, into whose hands this work may fall, not to prefer the fictions of romance, however greedily swallowed by vulgar credulity, to the precision of sober history.

XII. Tiberius, in a public speech, delivered the funeral panegyric of his son *(a)*. The senate and the people attended in their mourning garments; but their grief was mere outward shew, the effect of dissimulation, not of sentiment. They rejoiced in secret, conceiving that from this event the house of Germanicus would begin to flourish. But the dawn of happiness was soon overclouded. The exultation of the people, and the indiscretion of Agrippina, who had not the policy to suppress the emotions of her heart, acce-

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lerated her own ruin, and that of her sons. Emboldened by success, Sejanus was ready to go forward in guilt. He saw the murder of Drusus pass with impunity, and even without a sign of public regret. Successful villainy inspired him with new courage. He saw that the sons of Germanicus were the presumptive heirs of Tiberius, and for that reason began to plot their destruction. Being three in number, they could not all be taken off by poison, while a set of faithful attendants watched them with a vigilant eye, and the virtue of Agrippina was impregnable.

That very virtue was, therefore, to be turned against her. Sejanus called it pride and contumacy. By repeated invectives he roused the inverate hatred of the elder Livia; and the younger of the name, so recently an accomplice in the murder of Drusus, was easily induced to join in a second conspiracy. They represented Agrippina to Tiberius as a woman proud of her children, intoxicated with popularity, and of a spirit to engage in any dangerous enterprise. The widow of Drusus knew how to choose fit agents for her purpose. Among her instruments of iniquity was

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Julius Posthumus, a man high in favour with the elder Livia. He had been for some time engaged in an adulterous commerce with Mutilia Prisca, and, through her influence, was graciously received at court. By his subtle practices, and the whispers conveyed by Prisca, the old woman, naturally fond of power, and jealous of every rival, was easily inflamed against her grand-daughter. At the same time, such of Agrippina's attendants as had easy access to her presence, were instructed to choose, in conversation with their mistress, the topics most likely to exasperate a mind fierce with pride, and ready to take fire on every occasion.

XIII. Meanwhile, Tiberius, hoping to find in business some respite from the anxieties of his heart, attended to the administration of justice in all disputes between the citizens of Rome. He likewise heard petitions from the provinces and the allies. At his desire, the cities of Cibyra *(a)* in Asia, and Ægium in Achaia, which had suffered by an earthquake, were exempted from their usual tribute for three years. Vibius Serenus, proconsul of the farther Spain, was found guilty of oppression in the course of his administration,

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and, being a man of savage manners, banished to the Isle of Amorgos. Carsius Sacerdos, accused of having supplied Tacfarinas with corn, was tried and acquitted. Caius Gracchus was charged with the same crime, and in like manner declared innocent. He had been carried in his infancy to the Isle of Cercina by Sempronius Gracchus *(b)*, his father, who was condemned to banishment. In that place, amidst a crew of outlaws and abandoned fugitives, he grew up in ignorance. To gain a livelihood, he became a dealer in petty merchandize on the coast of Africa and Sicily. His obscurity, however, did not shelter him from the dangers of a higher station. Innocent as he was, if Ælius Lamia *(c)* and Lucius Apronius, formerly proconsuls of Africa, had not espoused his cause, he must have sunk under the weight of the prosecution, a sacrifice to the splendid name of his family, and the misfortunes of his father.

XIV. In the course of the year, deputations from Greece, on the old subject of sanctuaries, were heard before the senate. The people of Samos claimed an ancient privilege for the Temple of Juno; and those of Coos, for that of Æsculapius. The former

relied on a decree of the Amphictyons *(a)*, the court of supreme authority, at the time when colonies from Greece were in possession of the maritime parts of Asia. The deputies from Coos had also their ancient precedents, besides a claim founded on their own peculiar merit. In the general massacre of the Roman citizens throughout Asia and the isles adjacent, committed by order of Mithridates *(b)*, they gave a refuge to numbers in the temple of Æsculapius. This business being over, the complaint against the licentiousness of stage-players, often urged by the prætors, and always without effect, was taken up by Tiberius. He stated, "that the peo-"ple of that profession were guilty of sedi-"tious practices, and, in many instances, cor-"rupted the morals of private families. The "buffoonery of the Oscan farce *(c)*, which "in its origin afforded but little pleasure "even to the dregs of the people, was now "grown to such a height of depravity, as well "as credit, that the mischief called for the "interposition of the senate." The players were banished out of Italy.

XV. Tiberius felt this year two severe strokes of affliction: he lost one of the twin-

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sons of Drusus *(a)*, and also his intimate friend Lucilius Longus, a man connected with him in the closest friendship; in all scenes, either of good or adverse fortune, his faithful companion, and, of all the senators, the only one that followed him in his retreat to the Isle of Rhodes. Though of no distinction, and in fact a new man, his funeral was performed with the pomp belonging to the censorial order *(b)*; and a statue was decreed to his memory in the Forum of Augustus, at the public expence. All business was, at this time, still transacted in the senate. The forms of the constitution remained; and accordingly Lucilius Capito, who had been collector of the imperial revenues in Asia, was brought to his trial before the fathers, at the suit of the province. Tiberius thought proper to declare, "that the commission "granted to the accused, extended only to "the slaves and revenues of the prince. "Should it appear that he assumed the præ-"torian authority, and, to support his usur-"pation, called in the aid of the military, "he went beyond the line of his duty; and, "in that case, the allegations of the province "ought to be heard." The business came to a hearing, and Capito was condemned. The

cities of Asia, to mark their sense of this act of justice, and their gratitude for the punishment of Caius Silanus (c) in the preceding year, voted a statue to Tiberius, to Livia, and the senate. They applied to the fathers for their consent, and succeeded. Nero, in the name of the province, returned thanks to the senate and his grandfather. He was heard with pleasure by the whole audience. Germanicus was still present to their minds; and, in the son, men fancied that they saw and heard the father. The figure of the young prince was interesting. An air of modesty, united to the dignity of his person, charmed every eye; and the well-known animosity of Sejanus engaged all hearts in his favour.

XVI. About this time the office of high priest of Jupiter became vacant by the death of Servius Maluginensis. Tiberius, in a speech to the senate, proposed that they should proceed to the choice of a successor, and at the same time pass a new law to regulate that business for the future. The custom had been to name three patricians, descended from a marriage, contracted according to the rites of CONFARREATION (a). Out

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of the number so proposed, one was to be elected. "But this mode was no longer in "use. The ceremony of confarreation was "grown obsolete; or, if observed, it was by "a few families only. Of this alteration "many causes might be assigned; and chiefly "the inattention of both sexes to the in- "terests of religion. The ceremonies, it is "true, are attended with some difficulty; "and for that reason they are fallen into dis- "use. Besides this, the priest so chosen "was no longer subject to paternal authority; "and the woman, who gave him her hand in "marriage, was intitled to the same exemp- "tion. To remedy these inconveniences, a "law is necessary. Many customs, that held "too much of the rigour of antiquity, were "new modelled by Augustus in conformity "to the polished manners of the times."

After due deliberation, it was thought advisable by the fathers to leave the priesthood on its old establishment, without innovation. With regard to the priestess, a new law took place. In her religious functions, it was declared, that she should be in the power of her husband only, subject in all other respects to

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the laws of her sex, without any privilege to distinguish her from other women. The son of Maluginensis succeeded to his father. In order to give new weight and consideration to the sacerdotal order, and to inspire the ministers of the altar with zeal for the sacred rites, a grant of two thousand great sesterces was ordered for Cornelia, the vestal virgin, who was at this time chosen superior of the order, in the room of Scantia. In compliment to Livia it was further decreed, that, whenever she visited the theatre, her seat should be among the vestal virgins. A. U. C. 776. A. D. 23.

XVII. In the consulship of Cornelius Cethegus and Visellius Varro, the pontiffs, and, after their example, the other orders of the priesthood, thought proper to blend with the solemn vows which they offered for the safety of the emperor, the names of Nero and Drusus. Zeal for the young princes was not altogether their motive: they had an indirect design to pay their court. But in that age the safe line of conduct was not easily settled. To abstain from flattery was dangerous; and to be lavish of it, provoked contempt, and even resentment. Tiberius, never friendly to A. U. C. 777. A. D. 24.

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the house of Germanicus, saw with indignation two boys exalted to a level with himself. He ordered the pontiffs to attend him. In the interview that followed, he desired to know whether, in what they had done, they complied either with the solicitations or the menaces of Agrippina. Being answered in the negative, he dismissed them with a reprimand, but in gentle terms, most of the order being either his relations, or the first men in Rome. Not content, however, with expressing his disapprobation in private, he desired, in a speech to the senate, that all might be upon their guard, not to inflame the minds of young men with ideas of power, and, by consequence, with a spirit above their station. Sejanus was the prompter in this business. He had the ear of the emperor, and filled him with apprehensions that Rome was divided into factions, inflamed against each other with no less fury than if they were actually engaged in a civil war. There were those, he said, who called themselves the partisans of Agrippina: if not suppressed, they would in time become too powerful. To check the growing discord, there was nothing left but to cut off one or two of the most active leaders.

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XVIII. The first blow was struck at Caius Silius and Titius Sabinus. Their connection with Germanicus was their crime; but Silius was obnoxious for various reasons. He had been, during a space of seven years, at the head of a powerful army; by his conduct in Germany he had gained triumphal ornaments; he conquered Sacrovir, and quelled the insurrection in Gaul. Falling from that elevation, his ruin would resound far and wide, and spread a general terror. His own indiscretion was thought at the time to have incensed Tiberius, and, by consequence, it provoked his fate. Success inspired him with vain-glory. He boasted, that the army under his command continued in firm fidelity, while sedition raised her standard in every other camp; and if the spirit of revolt had reached his legions, the imperial dignity would have tottered on the head of the prince. Tiberius took the alarm: he thought his own importance lessened, and his fortune, great as it was, unable to recompense such extraordinary services. He felt himself under obligations to his officer; and obligations (such is the nature of the human mind) are only then acknowledged, when it is in our power to requite them: if they exceed

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all measure, to be insolvent is painful, and gratitude gives way to hatred.

XIX. Sosia Galla, the wife of Silius, was closely connected with Agrippina, and, for that reason, detested by Tiberius. She and her husband were doomed to fall an immediate sacrifice. Sabinus was reserved for a future day. Against the two former, Varro, the consul, undertook the despicable part of public prosecutor. Pretending to adopt the resentments of his father, he became the servile agent of Sejanus. Silius requested that the trial might be deferred, till the consul, now turned accuser, should cease to be in office. Though the interval was short, Tiberius opposed the motion, alledging, that men were frequently arraigned by the other magistrates; and why abridge the authority of the consul? It is his duty to take care that the commonwealth may receive no injury. Such was the state-craft of Tiberius: to crimes invented by himself he gave the old republican names, and by that artifice amused the public.

The senate was summoned with regular solemnity, as if the proceeding was to be ac-

cording to law; as if Varro was, in truth, acting the part of consul, and in the reign of Tiberius the constitution still remained in vigour. Silius made no defence. He broke silence, indeed, at different times, but merely to shew that he saw in what quarter the arm of oppression was raised against him. The heads of the accusation were, that, in a dark conspiracy with Sacrovir, he concealed the machinations of that insurgent; that his victory was tarnished by cruelty, and that, with his connivance, acts of rapacity and oppression were committed by his wife. The last article was too well founded; but the prosecution went altogether on the crime of violated majesty. Silius saw that his doom was fixed, and, to prevent final judgment, put an end to his life.

XX. The law, notwithstanding, laid hold of his effects; not however to make restitution to the Gauls; for the Gauls made no claim. The whole of what the unhappy victim had received from the bounty of Augustus, after an exact estimate made, was seized, and carried into the treasury of the prince. In this instance, Tiberius, for the first time, looked with the eye of avarice on

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the property of others. On the motion of Asinius Gallus, Sosia was ordered into exile. By that senator it was further proposed, that part of her effects should be confiscated, and the remainder given to her children. Manius Lepidus contended, that one fourth should go, as *(a)* the law directed, to the prosecutors, and the residue to her children. This sentence prevailed. It is but justice to the character of Lepidus *(b)*, to observe in this place, that, considering the times in which he lived, he appears to have been a man of ability, temperate, wise, and upright. The violent measures often proposed by others, always the result of servile adulation, were, by his address, frequently rejected, altered, or modified, with so much good-sense and temper, that he preserved at once his credit at court, and the esteem of the public.

This happiness, so singular and so fairly enjoyed, arrests our attention, and naturally raises an enquiry whether the favour or antipathy of princes, like all other sublunary contingencies, is governed by the immutable laws of fate *(c)*; and, by consequence, the lot of man may be said to be determined in his natal hour. The question is intricate;

but perhaps free will and moral agency are still so far allowed, that each individual may chalk out the line of his own conduct, and, by steering between the opposite extremes of blunt austerity and abject meanness, pursue a middle course with safety and with honour. Messalinus Cotta, a man equal in point of birth to Manius Lepidus, but of a very different character, moved for a decree, declaring that all magistrates, however blameless in their own conduct, and even ignorant of the guilt of others, should, notwithstanding, be responsible for the unlawful acts committed in the provinces by their wives.

XXI. The business brought forward in the next place, was the charge against Calpurnius Piso *(a)*, that illustrious citizen, distinguished not more by the nobility of his birth, than by his unshaken virtue, who, as has been related, threatened a secession from Rome, in order to find, in some remote place, a shelter from the vices of the age, and the harpies of the law. It may be remembered, likewise, that, in the cause against Urgulania, he scorned to yield to the weight and influence of the emperor's mother, but cited the

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defendant from the very palace of the prince. His conduct, at the time, was treated by Tiberius as the exercise of a civil right; but in a mind like his, that which at first made a slight impression, was sure to be embittered by reflection. Quintus Granius was the prosecutor of Piso. He exhibited an accusation for words spoken in private against the majesty of the emperor; for keeping poison in his house; and entering the senate with a concealed dagger. The two last articles, too gross to be believed, were thrown out of the case. Other allegations were heaped together to swell the charge; and Piso, it was determined, was to be brought to his trial: but a natural death put an end to the prosecution.

A new complaint was presented to the senate against Cassius Severus *(b)*, a man of mean extraction, void of principle, profligate in his manners, but an orator of considerable eloquence. He had been, by a judgment, pronounced under the sanction of an oath, condemned to exile in the Isle of Crete. Persisting there in his licentious practices, he rekindled the indignation of the fathers, and

by new vices provoked new enemies. Stripped of all his effects, and interdicted from fire and water, he was removed to the Isle of Seriphos *(c)*, where, in old age and misery, he languished on the rocks.

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XXII. About this time Plautius Silvanus, one of the prætors, impelled by some secret motive, threw his wife Apronia out of the window of her apartment, and killed her on the spot. Being immediately seized by his father-in-law, Lucius Apronius, and conveyed to the presence of the emperor, he made answer, with an air of distraction, that, while he lay asleep, his wife committed that act of violence. Tiberius went directly to the house. He examined the apartment, and saw evident signs of a person who had struggled, but was overcome by force. He made his report to the senate, and commissioners were appointed to enquire and pronounce their judgment. Urgulania, the grandmother of Silvanus, sent a dagger to him as her best present. This, on account of her known intimacy with Livia, was supposed to proceed from Tiberius. The criminal, after attempting, but with irresolution, to apply the dagger to his breast, ordered his veins

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to be opened. In a short time afterwards Numantina, his former wife, was accused of having, by drugs and magic spells, distempered his brain. She was acquitted of the charge.

XXIII. The war with Tacfarinas, the Numidian, by which Rome had been long embroiled, was this year happily terminated. The former commanders, as soon as they had laid a foundation for the obtaining of triumphal ornaments, considered their business as finished, and gave the enemy time to breathe. There were at Rome no less than three statues *(a)* decorated with laurel, and yet Tacfarinas ravaged the province. He was reinforced by the neighbouring Moors, who saw with indignation their new king, Ptolemy, the son of Juba *(b)*, resign, with youthful inexperience, the reins of government to his freedmen. The malcontents of that nation went over to the banners of Tacfarinas, determined to try the fortune of war, rather than tamely submit to the tyranny of enfranchised slaves. The king *(c)* of the Garamantes entered into a secret league with the Numidian. Not choosing to take the field at the head of his forces, he

helped to carry on a war of depredation. His dominions were a depository for all their plunder. His troops went out in detached parties, and, as is usual in all distant commotions, were magnified by the voice of fame into a prodigious army. Even from the *(d)* Roman province, all who struggled with want, or by their crimes were rendered desperate, went over to Tacfarinas. A recent incident encouraged the revolt. In consequence of the success of Blæsus, Tiberius, thinking the war at an end, ordered the ninth legion to be recalled. Dolabella, the proconsul for the year, saw the inexpedience of the measure; but dreading the anger of Tiberius more than the incursions of the enemy, he did not venture, even for the defence of the province, to detain the troops.

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XXIV. Tacfarinas, availing himself of this circumstance, spread a rumour round the country, that the Roman empire being invaded on every side, Africa, by degrees, was to be evacuated, and the remainder of the legions might be easily cut off, if all who preferred their liberty to ignominious bondage, would take up arms in defence of their country. He gained, by these artifices, a

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new accession of strength, and laid siege to the city of Thubuscum. Dolabella, with what force he could collect, marched to the relief of the place. The terror of the Roman name was on his side, and the affair was with an enemy, who could never sustain the shock of a well-embodied infantry. He no sooner shewed himself in force, than the Numidian abandoned the siege. Dolabella, at all convenient places, fortified his posts, and stationed garrisons to secure the country. Finding the Musulanians on the point of a revolt, he seized their chiefs, and ordered their heads to be struck off. Experience had taught him, that a regular army, encumbered with baggage, could give but a bad account of a wild and desultory enemy, who made war by sudden incursions, and avoided a decisive action: he therefore resolved to vary his operations, and having called to his aid the young king Ptolemy, at the head of a large body of his subjects, he divided his army into four detached parties, under the command of his lieutenants, and the military tribunes. A chosen band of Moors, conducted by officers of that nation, had orders to ravage the country. The proconsul marched himself in person, ready

at hand to direct the motions of his army, and give vigour to the enterprise.

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XXV. INTELLIGENCE was brought soon after, that the Numidians, depending upon the advantages of a situation encompassed by a depth of forests, had pitched their huts near the ruins of a castle, called Auzea *(a)*, which they had formerly destroyed by fire. The cavalry and light cohorts, ignorant of their destination, were sent forward without delay. They made a forced march in the night, and at break of day arrived before the place. The Barbarians, scarce awake, were alarmed on every side with warlike shouts and the clangor of trumpets. Their horses were either fastened to stakes, or let loose to wander on the pasture grounds. The Romans advanced in order of battle, their infantry in close array, and the cavalry prepared for action. The Barbarians were taken by surprise, no arms at hand, no order, no concerted measure. They were attacked without delay, and like a herd of cattle mangled, butchered, taken. The Roman soldiers, fierce with resentment for all their toil and fatigue, rushed with fury against an enemy, who had so often fled from their

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sword. The victorious troops were glutted with Numidian blood. The word was given through the ranks, that Tacfarinas was the proper object of their vengeance: his person was well known; his death, and nothing less, could end the war. That daring adventurer saw his guards fall on every side. His son was already in fetters, and he himself hemmed in by the Romans. In despair he rushed forward, where the shower of darts was thickest, and, selling his life at the dearest rate, had the glory of dying in freedom. This event quieted the commotions in Africa.

XXVI. For these services Dolabella expected triumphal ornaments: but Tiberius, apprehending that Sejanus would think the honours, granted to his uncle Blæsus, tarnished by the success of a rival, refused to comply with the request. Blæsus gained no addition to his fame, while that of Dolabella grew brighter by injustice. With an inferior army, he had taken a number of prisoners, among whom were the leading chiefs of the nation; and, by the death of Tacfarinas, he put an end to the war. At his return from Africa, he gave a spectacle rarely seen at Rome, a train

of ambassadors from the Garamantes! The people of that country, conscious of their guilt, and by the death of the Numidian chief thrown into consternation, sent their deputies to appease the resentment of the emperor. The services of king Ptolemy being stated to the senate, an ancient custom, long since fallen into disuse, was revived in honour of that monarch. The fathers sent a member of their body, to present *(a)* an ivory sceptre and a painted robe, the ancient gift to kings, with instructions, at the same time, to salute young Ptolemy, by the titles of KING, ALLY, and FRIEND OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

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XXVII. DURING the same summer, a servile war was ready to break out in Italy; but, by a fortunate accident, the flame was soon extinguished. The incendiary, who excited the commotion, was formerly a soldier in the prætorian bands, by name Titus Curtisius. This man began his seditious practices in private cabals at Brundusium, and the adjacent towns. Having made his impression, he went the length of fixing up in public places seditious libels, inviting the agrarian slaves to issue from their woods and wilds, and take up arms in

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the cause of liberty. It happened, however, that three galleys, employed in the navigation of those seas, arrived providentially on the coast. Curtius Lupus, the quæstor, in whose province it was, according to ancient usage, to superintend the roads *(a)* through the forests, was, at that time, in the neighbourhood. He ordered the mariners to be landed, and, putting himself at their head, crushed the conspiracy in the bud. Statius, a military tribune, had been, on the first alarm, dispatched by Tiberius with a strong band of soldiers. He arrived in good time, and, having seized the chief conspirators with their leader, returned to Rome with his prisoners bound in chains. The capital, at that time, was far from being in a state of tranquillity. Men saw, with terror, a vast multitude of slaves increasing *(b)* beyond all proportion, while the number of freeborn citizens was visibly on the decline.

XXVIII. During the same consulship, a scene of horror, that gave a shock to nature, and marked the cruelty of the times, was acted in the face of the world. A father pleaded for his life, while the son stood forth

the accuser. The name of each was Vibius Serenus *(a)*. They appeared before the senate. The father had been banished. He was now dragged from his retreat, deformed with filth, and loaded with irons; a spectacle of misery. The son came forward in trim apparel, ease in his mien, and alacrity in his countenance. He charged the old man with a conspiracy against the life of the emperor, and with sending emissaries into Gaul to kindle the flame of rebellion; and thus the son acted in a double character, at once the accuser, and the witness. He added, that Cæcilius Cornutus, of prætorian rank, supplied the accomplices with money. Cornutus, weary of life, and knowing that a prosecution was a prelude to destruction, laid violent hands on himself. Serenus, on the contrary, with a spirit undismayed, fixed his eye on his son, and clanking his chains, exclaimed, "Restore "me, just and vindictive gods! restore me to "my place of banishment, far from the sight "of men, who suffer such an outrage to hu-"manity. For that parricide, may your ven-"geance, in due time, overtake his guilt." He pronounced Cornutus an innocent man, but destitute of courage, weak, and easily alarmed.

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He desired that the confederates in the plot might be named, and, by a minute enquiry, the truth, he said, would be brought to light. "For can it be, that, with only one accomplice, I should undertake to imbrue my "hands in the blood of the emperor, and to "overturn the government?"

XXIX. The informer gave in the names of Cneius Lentulus and Scius Tubero. The mention of those men threw Tiberius into confusion. They were both of illustrious rank, both his intimate friends. That Lentulus, in the evening of his days, and Tubero drooping under bodily infirmity should be charged with meditating an insurrection in Gaul, and a conspiracy against the state, made a deep impression on his spirits. Against them no further enquiry was made. The slaves of the aged father were examined on the rack, and, by their testimony, every allegation was refuted. The son, overwhelmed with a sense of his guilt, and terrified by the indignation of the populace, who threatened *(a)* the dungeon, the Tarpeian rock, and all the pains and penalties of parricide, made his escape from Rome. He was retaken at Ravenna, and carried back to

proceed in his accusation, and gratify the spleen of Tiberius, who hated the old man, and, upon this occasion, did not disguise his rancour. Vibius, it seems, soon after the condemnation of Libo *(b)*, complained by letter to the emperor, that his services in that business had not been duly recompensed. The style of his remonstrance was more free and bold than can with safety be addressed to the proud ear of power, at all times sensibly alive to every expression, and easily alarmed. At the distance of eight years Tiberius shewed that he had been ruminating mischief. The intermediate time, he said, though no proof could be extorted from the slaves, was passed by the prisoner in a continued series of atrocious crimes.

XXX. The question being put, the majority was for a capital punishment, according to the rigour of ancient law. Tiberius, to soften popular prejudice, opposed so harsh a sentence. Asinius Gallus moved that Serenus should be banished to the Isle of Gyarus or Donusa. This also was opposed by the emperor. In those islands there was a dearth of water; and when life is granted, the means of

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supporting it ought to follow. The old man was remanded to the island of Amorgos. As Cornutus had dispatched himself, a motion was made, that whenever the person accused of violated majesty, prevented judgment by a voluntary death, the informers should be entitled to no reward *(a)*. The fathers inclined to that opinion; but Tiberius, in plain terms, without his usual ambiguity, shewed himself the patron of the whole race of informers. "The course of justice," he said, "would be "stopt, and, by such a decision, the common- "wealth would be brought to the brink of "ruin. It were better to abrogate all laws at "once. If we must have laws, let us not re- "move the vigilance that gives them energy." In this manner that pernicious crew, the bane and scourge of society, who, in fact, have never been effectually restrained, were now let loose, with the wages of iniquity in view, to harass and destroy their fellow citizens.

XXXI. THROUGH the cloud of these tempestuous times a gleam of joy broke forth. Caius Cominius, a Roman knight, was convicted for being author of defamatory verses against the emperor; but at the intercession of

his brother, a member of the senate, Tiberius pardoned the offence. This act of lenity, standing in contrast to a series of evil deeds, made men wonder, that he, who knew the fair renown that waits on the virtues of humanity, should persevere in the practice of cruelty and oppression. Want of discernment was not among the faults of Tiberius; nor was he misled by the applause of temporizing courtiers. Between the praise which adulation offers, and that which flows from sentiment, a mind like his could easily distinguish. His own manner marked his sense of good and evil. Though close and guarded on most occasions, even to a degree of hesitation, it was remarkable, that, when he meant a generous act, his language was fluent, clear, and unequivocal.

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In a matter that came on soon after, against Publius Suilius *(a)*, formerly quæstor under Germanicus, and now convicted of bribery in a cause where he sat in judgment, the emperor, not content with a general sentence of banishment out of Italy, insisted that he ought to be confined to an island. This decision he urged in a tone of vehemence, averring, with the solemnity of an oath, that the interest of the

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commonwealth required it. And yet this proceeding, condemned at the time, as harsh and violent, was, in a subsequent reign, allowed to be founded in justice. Suilius was recalled by Claudius. He then announced his real character; proud, imperious, corrupt and venal; high in favour with the reigning prince, and using his influence for the worst of purposes. Catus Firmius was, in like manner, condemned, on a charge of having maliciously accused his sister on the law of majesty. It was this man, as has been related, who first deceived the unsuspecting Libo *(b)*, and then betrayed him to his ruin. For that sacrifice of all truth and honour, Tiberius was not ungrateful. To reward his services, yet pretending to act with other motives, he over-ruled the sentence of banishment, but agreed that he should be expelled the senate.

XXXII. The transactions hitherto related, and those which are to follow, may, I am well aware, be thought of little importance, and beneath the dignity of history. But no man, it is presumed, will think of comparing these annals with the historians of the old republic. Those writers had for their subject,

wars of the greatest magnitude; cities taken by storm; kings overthrown, or led in captivity to Rome: and when from those scenes of splendour they turned their attention to domestic occurrences, they had still an ample field before them; they had dissensions between the consuls and the tribunes; they had agrarian laws, the price of corn, and the populace and patrician order inflamed with mutual animosity. Those were objects that filled the imagination of the reader, and gave free scope to the genius of the writer. The work, in which I am engaged, lies in a narrow compass; the labour is great, and glory there is none. A long and settled calm, scarce lifted to a tempest; wars no sooner begun than ended; a gloomy scene at home, and a prince without ambition, or even a wish to enlarge the boundaries of the empire: these are the scanty materials that lie before me. And yet materials like these are not to be undervalued; though slight in appearance, they still merit attention, since they are often the secret spring of the most important events.

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XXXIII. If we consider the nature of civil government, we shall find, that, in all

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nations, the supreme authority is vested either in the people, or the nobles, or a single ruler. A constitution *(a)* compounded of these three simple forms, may in theory be beautiful, but can never exist in fact; or, if it should, it will be but of short duration. At Rome, while the republic flourished, and the senate and the people gained alternate victories over each other, it was the business of the true politician, to study the manners and tempers of the multitude, in order to restrain within due bounds a tumultuous and discordant mass; and, on the other hand, he who best knew the senate, and the characters of the leading members, was deemed the most accomplished statesman of his time. At present, since a violent convulsion has overturned the old republic, and the government of Rome differs in nothing from a monarchy *(b)*, the objects of political knowledge are changed, and, for that reason, such transactions as it is my business to relate, will not be without their use. Few are qualified, by their own reflection, to mark the boundaries between vice and virtue. To separate the useful from that which leads to destruction, is not the talent of every man. The example of others is the school of wisdom.

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It must however be acknowledged, that the detail into which I am obliged to enter is in danger, while it gives lessons of prudence, of being dry and unentertaining. In other histories, the situation of countries, the events of war, and the exploits of illustrious generals, awaken curiosity, and enlarge the imagination. We have nothing before us, but acts of despotism, continual accusations, the treachery of friends, the ruin of innocence, and trial after trial ending always in the same tragic catastrophe. These, no doubt, will give to the present work a tedious uniformity, without an object to enliven attention, without an incident to prevent satiety. It may be further observed, that the ancient historian is safe from the severity of criticism: whether he favours the cause of Rome or of Carthage, the reader is indifferent to both parties; whereas the descendants of those who, in the reign of Tiberius, were either put to death, or branded with infamy, are living at this hour; and besides, if the whole race were extinct, will there not be at all times a succession of men, who, from congenial manners, and sympathy in vice, will think the fidelity of history a satire on themselves? Even the praise due

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to virtue is sure to give umbrage. The illustrious character is brought too near to the depravity of modern times. The contrast is too strong for tender eyes. But I return from this digression.

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XXXIV. During the consulship of Cornelius Cossus and Asinius Agrippa, a new, and, till that time, unheard of crime was laid to the charge of Cremutius Cordus *(a)*. He had published a series of annals. In that work, after the encomium of Brutus, he styled Cassius *(b)* the last of Romans. For this sentiment a prosecution was commenced against the author by Satrius Secundus and Pinarius Natta, both known to be the creatures of Sejanus. That circumstance was of itself sufficient; but the stern countenance, with which Tiberius heard the defence, was a fatal prognostic. With a spirit, however, prepared for the worst, and even resolved on death, Cordus spoke to the following effect. "The charge, conscript "fathers, is for words only; so irreproachable "is my conduct. And what are my words? "Do they affect the emperor or his mother, "the only persons included in the law of ma-"jesty? It is, however, my crime, that I

" have treated the memory of Brutus and Cas-
" sius with respect: and have not others done
" the same? In the number of writers, who
" composed the lives of those eminent men,
" is there one who has not done honour to
" their memory? Titus Livius, that admi-
" rable historian, not more distinguished by
" his eloquence than by his fidelity, was so
" lavish in praise of Pompey, that Augustus
" called him the *Pompeian:* and yet the
" friendship of that emperor was unalterable.
" Scipio, and Afranius, with this same Bru-
" tus, and this very Cassius, are mentioned by
" that immortal author, not indeed as *(c)* RUF-
" FIANS and PARRICIDES (the appellations
" now in vogue); but as virtuous, upright, and
" illustrious Romans. In the works of Asinius
" Pollio their names are decorated with every
" praise. Messala Corvinus boasted that Cas-
" sius was his general. And yet those two
" distinguished writers flourished in the es-
" teem of Augustus and enjoyed both wealth
" and honours. Cicero dedicated an entire
" volume to the memory of Cato. What was
" the conduct of Cæsar, the dictator? He
" contented himself with writing an answer, in

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" effect, appealing to the tribunal of the pub-
" lic. The letters of Mark Anthony, as well
" as the speeches of Brutus, abound with pas-
" sages against Augustus, false indeed, but in
" a style of bitter invective. The verses of
" Bibaculus and Catullus, though keen lam-
" poons on the family of the Cæsars, are in
" every body's hands. Neither Julius Cæsar
" nor Augustus shewed any resentment against
" these envenomed productions: on the con-
" trary, they left them to make their way in the
" world. Was this their moderation, or superior
" wisdom? Perhaps it was the latter. Neglect-
" ed calumny soon expires: shew that you are
" hurt, and you give it the appearance of truth.

XXXV. " From Greece I draw no prece-
" dents. In that country not only liberty, but
" even licentiousness was encouraged. He
" who felt the edge of satire, knew how to re-
" taliate. Words were revenged by words.
" When public characters have passed away
" from the stage of life, and the applause of
" friendship, as well as the malice of enemies,
" is heard no more; it has ever been the pre-
" rogative of history to rejudge their actions.

" Brutus and Cassius are not now at the head " of armies: they are not encamped on the " plains of Philippi: can I assist their cause? " Have I harangued the people, or incited " them to take up arms? It is now more than " sixty years since these two extraordinary " men perished by the sword: from that time, " they have been seen in their busts and sta- " tues: those remains the very conquerors " spared, and history has been just to their " memory. Posterity allows to every man " his true value and his proper honours. You " may, if you will, by your judgment affect " my life: but Brutus and Cassius will be " still remembered, and my name may attend " their triumph." Having thus delivered his sentiments, he left the senate, and *(a)* by abstinence put an end to his days.

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The fathers ordered his book to be burnt by the ædiles; but to destroy it was not in their power *(b)*. It was preserved in secret, and copies have been multiplied; so vain and senseless is the attempt, by an arbitrary act, to extinguish the light of truth, and defraud posterity of due information. Genius thrives under oppression: persecute the author, and

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you enhance the value of his work. Foreign tyrants, and all who have adopted their barbarous policy, have experienced this truth: by proscribing talents, they recorded their own disgrace, and gave the writer a passport to immortality.

XXXVI. The whole of this year was one continued series of prosecutions; insomuch that on one of the days of the Latin festival *(a)*, when Drusus, in his character of præfect of Rome, ascended the tribunal, Calpurnius Salvianus took that opportunity to present an accusation against Sextus Marius. A proceeding so irregular drew down the censure of Tiberius. Salvianus was driven into banishment. A complaint against the inhabitants of the city of Cyzicus was presented to the senate, charging, that they had suffered the ceremonies in honour of Augustus to fall into contempt, and had moreover offered violence to several Roman citizens. For this offence they were deprived of the privileges, which had been granted to them for their fidelity in the war with Mithridates. That monarch laid siege to their city; but, by the fortitude of the people, not less than by the succour

sent by Lucullus, he was obliged to abandon the place. Fonteius Capito, who had been proconsul of Asia, was acquitted of the charge alleged against him by the malice of that daring accuser, Vibius Serenus *(b)*. And yet the author of so vile a calumny passed with impunity. He had the curses of the people, and the protection of the emperor. Informers, in proportion as they rose in guilt, became sacred characters. If any were punished, it was only such as were mere novices in guilt, obscure and petty villains, who had no talents for mischief.

XXXVII. Ambassadors, about this time, arrived from the further Spain, praying leave, in imitation of the people of Asia, to build a temple to the emperor and his mother. Tiberius had strength of mind to despise the offerings of adulation: he knew, however, that his conduct on a former occasion had been taxed with the littleness of vain glory. To clear himself from that aspersion, he made the following speech. "I am not, conscript "fathers, now to learn that, when a similar "petition came from Asia, I was accused of "weakness and irresolution, for not giving a

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"decided negative. The silence which I "then observed, and the law which I have "laid down to myself for the future, it is my "intention now to explain. Augustus, it is "well known, permitted a temple to be rais-"ed at Pergamus, in honour of himself and "the city of Rome. His example has ever "been the rule of my conduct. I yielded to "the solicitations of Asia the more willingly, "as with the veneration offered to myself, "that of the senate was mixed and blended. "That single act of compliance may, per-"haps, require no apology: but to be dei-"fied throughout the provinces, and intrude "my own image among the statues of the "Gods, what were it but vain presumption, "the height of human arrogance? Erect "more altars, and the homage paid to Au-"gustus will be no longer an honour to his "memory: by promiscuous use, it will tar-"nish in the eyes of mankind, and vanish "into nothing.

XXXVIII. "As to myself, conscript fa-"thers, I pretend to nothing above the con-"dition of humanity: a mortal man, I have "the duties of our common nature to per-"form. Raised to a painful pre-eminence, if

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" I sustain the arduous character imposed
" upon me, the measure of my happiness is
" full. These are my sentiments; I avow
" them in your presence, and I hope they will
" reach posterity. Should future ages pro-
" nounce me not unworthy of my ancestors;
" should they think me vigilant for the public
" good, in danger firm, and, for the interest
" of all, ready to encounter personal animo-
" sities, that character will be the bright re-
" ward of all my labours. Those are the
" temples which I wish to raise: they are the
" truest temples, for they are fixed in the
" heart. It is there I would be worshipped,
" in the esteem and the affections of men,
" that best and most lasting monument. Piles
" of stone and marble structures, when the
" idol ceases to be adored, and the judgment
" of posterity rises to execration, are mere
" charnel houses, that moulder into ruin.

" I therefore now address myself to the al-
" lies of the empire, to the citizens of Rome,
" and to the immortal gods, to the gods it is
" my prayer, that to the end of life they
" may grant the blessing of an undisturbed,
" a clear, a collected mind, with a just sense

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" of laws both human and divine. Of mankind I request, that, when I am no more, they will do justice to my memory; and, with kind acknowledgments, record my name, and the actions of my life." In these sentiments he persisted ever after. Even in private conversation he never ceased to declaim against the abuses of religious honours. For this self-denial various motives were assigned. Some called it modesty; others, a sense of his own demerit; many imputed it to a degenerate spirit, insensible to all fair and honourable distinctions. The love of glory, they observed, has ever been the incentive of exalted minds. It was by this principle that Hercules and Bacchus enrolled themselves among the gods of Greece; and it was thus that Romulus was deified at Rome. Augustus made a right estimate of things, and, by consequence, aspired to rank himself with ancient worthies. With regard to other gratifications, princes are in a station, where to desire, is to have. But the passion for glory ought to be insatiable. The esteem of posterity is the true ambition of a prince. From the contempt of fame (a) arises a contempt of virtue.

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XXXIX. SEJANUS, intoxicated with success, and hurried on by the importunity of the younger Livia *(a)*, who was grown impatient for the promised marriage, thought fit to open the business to the emperor. All applications, at that time, even when a personal interview took place, were presented to the prince in writing *(b)*. The purport of the memorial was, that "the munificence of "Augustus to the petitioner, and the favours "added by Tiberius, had so engrossed all "his faculties, that he was now accustomed, "instead of supplicating the gods, to offer "up his prayers to the prince. Of rank "and splendour he had never been ambitious: "a post of difficulty, where he watched day "and night like a common sentinel, to guard "the life of his sovereign, was the only ho-"nour he had ever sought. And yet a mark "of the highest distinction had been con-"ferred upon him. The emperor deemed "him worthy of an alliance with the impe-"rial house *(c)*. His present hopes were "built on that foundation. Having heard "that Augustus *(d)*, when the marriage of "his daughter was in contemplation, doubt-"ed, for some time, whether he should not "give her to a Roman knight; he presumed

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" to offer his humble request, that Tiberius, " if a new match was designed for Livia, " would graciously think of a friend, who " would bear in mind a due sense of the " favour conferred upon him, but never " claim an exemption from the toil and duty " of his post. To shelter his family from the " animosity of Agrippina was the object he " had in view. He felt for his children; but " as to himself, if he died in the service of " his prince, he should die content and full " of years."

XL. TIBERIUS expressed himself pleased with the style of affection which breathed through the memorial. He mentioned, in a cursory manner, the favours he had granted, but desired time for the consideration of a subject so entirely new and unexpected. Having weighed the business, he returned the following answer: " In all matters of deliberation, " self-interest is the principle by which indi- " viduals decide for themselves: with princes " it is otherwise. The opinions of the peo- " ple claim their attention, and public fame " must direct their conduct. To the request " which had been made, an obvious answer " presented itself to his pen: he might ob-

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" serve, that it was for Livia to determine,
" whether she would contract another mar-
" riage, or be content to remain the widow
" of Drusus. He might add, that she had
" a mother *(a)* and a grandmother, more
" nearly connected than himself, and, for that
" reason, fitter to be consulted. But he
" would deal openly, and in terms of plain
" simplicity. And first, as to Agrippina;
" her resentments would break out with
" redoubled violence, if, by the marriage of
" Livia, she saw the imperial family divided
" into contending factions. Even at present,
" female jealousies made a scene of tumult and
" distraction. His grandsons were involved
" in their disputes. Should the marriage be
" allowed, perpetual discord might be the
" consequence.

" Do you imagine, Sejanus, that Livia, the
" widow first of Caius Cæsar, and since of
" Drusus, will act an humble part, and waste
" her life in the embraces of a Roman knight?
" Should I consent, what will be said by
" those who saw her father, her brother,
" and the ancestors of our family, invested
" with the highest honours of the state! But
" it seems you will not aspire above your

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" present station. Remember that the ma-
" gistrates, and the first men in Rome, who
" besiege your levee, and in every thing defer
" to your judgment; remember, I say, that they
" now proclaim aloud, that you have already
" soared above the equestrian rank, and enjoy
" higher authority than was ever exercised by
" the favourites of my father. They declaim
" against you with envy, and they obliquely
" glance at me. But Augustus, you say,
" had thoughts of giving his daugter to one
" of the equestrian order. And if, overwhelm-
" ed by a weight of cares, yet sensible at the
" same time of the honour that would accrue
" to the favoured bridegroom, he mentioned
" occasionally Caius Proculeius *(b)*, and
" some others, is it not well known that they
" were all of moderate principles; men who
" led a life of tranquillity, and took no part
" in the transactions of the state? And
" if Augustus had his doubts, is it for
" me to take a decided part? His final de-
" termination is the true precedent. He
" gave his daughter first to Agrippa, and
" afterwards to myself. These are the reflec-
" tions which I thought proper to communi-
" cate to you. My friendship is without
" disguise. To the measures which you and

" Livia may have concerted, no obstacle shall " arise from me. But still there are other " ties by which I would bind you to myself " *(c)* in closer union. I will not at present " enlarge on the subject. I shall only say, " that I know no honour to which you are " not entitled by your virtues, and your " zeal for my interest. But what I think and " feel on this head I shall take occasion to " explain to the senate, or, it may be, in a " full assembly of the people."

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XLI. Alarmed by this answer, Sejanus dropped all thoughts of the marriage. A crowd of apprehensions rushed upon him. He feared the penetrating eye of malicious enemies; he dreaded the whispers of suspicion, and the clamours of the public. To prevent impressions to his disadvantage, he presented a second memorial, humbly requesting that the emperor would pay no regard to the suggestions of ill designing men. Between two nice and difficult points the favourite was now much embarrassed. If, for the sake of a more humble appearance, he determined to avoid for the future the great conflux of visitors, who frequented his house, his

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power, in a short time, would be in its wane; and on the other hand, by receiving such a numerous train, he gave access to spies upon his conduct. A new expedient occurred to him. He resolved to persuade the emperor to withdraw from the city, and lead, in some delightful, but remote, situation, a life of ease and solitary pleasure. In this measure he saw many advantages. Access to the prince would depend on the minister; all letters conveyed by the soldiers would fall into his hands: and Tiberius, now in the vale of years, might be, when charmed with his retreat, and lulled to repose and indolence, more easily induced to resign the reins of government. In that retirement the favourite would disengage himself from the vain parade of crowded levees; envy would be appeased; and instead of the shadow of power, he might grasp the substance. To this end, Sejanus affected to disrelish the noise and bustle of the city; the people assembling in crowds gave him disgust; and the courtiers, who buzzed in the place, brought nothing but fatigue and vain parade. He talked of the pleasure of rural solitude, where there was nothing but pure enjoyment, no little anxieties, no te-

dious languor, no intrigues of faction; a scene of tranquillity, where important plans of policy might be concerted at leisure.

XLII. It happened in this juncture that the trial of Votienus Montanus *(a)*, a man famous for his wit and talents, was brought to a hearing. In the course of his business, Tiberius, with a mind already balancing, came to a resolusion to avoid, for the future, the assembly of the fathers, where he was so often mortified by grating expressions. Montanus was accused of words injurious to the emperor; Æmilius, a man in the military line, was a witness against him. To establish the charge, this man went into a minute detail, from little circumstances hoping to deduce a full conviction. Though ill heard by the fathers, he persisted, in spite of noise and frequent interruption, to relate every circumstance. Tiberius heard the sarcastic language with which his character was torn and mangled in private. He rose in a sudden transport of passion, declaring, in a premptory tone, that he would refute the calumny in that stage of the business, or institute a judicial proceeding for the purpose. The entreaties of his friends, seconded by the adulation of

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the fathers were scarce sufficient to appease his anger. The judgment usual in cases of violated majesty was pronounced against Montanus *(b)*. Want of clemency was the general objection to Tiberius; but the reproach, instead of mitigating, served only to enflame that vindictive temper. With a spirit exasperated, he took up the affair of Aquilia, convicted of adultery with Varius Ligur; and though Lentulus Gætulicus, consul elect, was of opinion that the penalties *(c)* of the Julian law would be an adequate punishment, she was ordered into exile. Apidius Merula had refused to swear on the acts of Augustus. For that offence Tiberius razed his name from the register of the senators *(d)*.

XLIII. The dispute then depending between the Lacedæmonians and the people of Messena, concerning the temple of the Limnatidian Diana *(a)*, was brought to a hearing before the senate. Deputies were heard from both places. On the part of the Lacedæmonians it was contended, that the structure in question was built by their ancestors, within the territory of Sparta. For proof of the fact, they cited extracts from history, and passages of ancient poetry. In the war with Philip of

Macedon, they were deprived of their right by force of arms; but the same was restored by Julius Cæsar and Mark Anthony. The Messenians, on the other hand, produced an ancient chart of Peloponnesus, divided among the descendants of Hercules; by which it appeared, that the Dentheliate field, where the temple stood, fell to the lot of the king of Messena. Inscriptions, verifying the fact, were still to be seen in stone and tables of brass. If fragments of poetry and loose scraps of history were to be admitted, they had, in that kind, a fund of evidence more ample, and directly in point. It was not by an act of violence that Philip of Macedon transferred the possesion from Sparta to the Messenians; his justice dictated that desision. Since that time, several judgments, all conspiring to the same effect, were pronounced by king Antigonus *(b)*, by Mummius *(c)*, the Roman general, by the Milesians, in their capacity of public arbitrators, and finally by Atidius Geminus, then prætor of Achaia *(d)*. The Messenians carried their point.

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The citizens of Segestum *(e)* presented a petition, stating, that the Temple of Venus,

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on mount Erix, had mouldered away, and therefore praying leave to build a new edifice on the same spot. Their account of the first foundation was so highly flattering to the pride of Tiberius, that, considering himself as a person related to the goddess, he undertook the care and expence of the building.

A petition from the city of Marseilles came next into debate. The fact was shortly this: Vulcatius Moschus, banished by the laws of Rome, and admitted to the freedom of the city of Marseilles, bequeathed to that republic, which he considered as his native country, the whole of his property. To justify this proceeding, the Marseillians cited the case of Publius Rutilius *(f)*, an exile from Rome, and afterwards naturalized by the people of Smyrna. The authority of the precedent was admitted, and the fathers pronounced in favour of the will.

XLIV. In the course of the year died Cneis Lentulus *(a)* and Lucius Domitius, two citizens of distinguished eminence. The consular dignity, and the honour of triumphal ornaments, for a complete victory over the Getulians, gave lustre to the name of Lentu-

lus: but the true glory of his character arose from the dignity with which he supported himself, first in modest poverty, and afterwards in the possession of a splendid fortune, acquired with integrity, and enjoyed with moderation. Domitius *(b)* owed much of his consequence to his ancestors. His father, during the civil wars, remained master of the seas till he went over to Mark Anthony, and, soon after deserting his party, followed the fortunes of Augustus. His grandfather fell in the battle of Pharsalia, fighting for the senate. Domitius, thus descended, was deemed worthy of the younger Antonia, the daughter of Mark Anthony, by his wife Octavia. He led the Roman legions beyond the Elbe *(c)*, and penetrated further into Germany than any former commander. His services were rewarded with triumphal ornaments.

Lucius Antonius *(d)*, who likewise died this year, must not be omitted. He was descended from a line of ancestors, highly honoured, but unfortunate. His father, Julius Antonius, being put to death for his adulterous commerce with Julia, the son, at that time of tender years, and grand nephew

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to Augustus, was sent out of the way to the city of Marseilles, where, under the pretence of pursuing his studies, he was detained in actual banishment. Funeral honours were paid to his memory, and his remains, by a decree of the senate, were deposited in the monument of the Octavian family.

XLV. While the same consuls continued in office, a deed of an atrocious nature was committed in the nethermost Spain *(a)* by a peasant from the district of Termes. Lucius Piso, the prætor of the province, in a period of profound peace, was travelling through the country, unguarded, and without precaution, when a desperate ruffian attacked him on the road, and, at one blow, laid him dead on the spot. Trusting to the swiftness of his horse, the assassin made towards the forest, and, there dismounting, pursued his way on foot over devious wilds and craggy steeps, eluding the vigilance and activity of the Romans. He did not, however, remain long concealed. His horse was found in the woods, and being led through the neighbouring villages, the name

of the owner was soon discovered. The villain of course was apprehended. On the rack, and under the most excruciating torture, he refused to discover his accomplices. With a tone of firmness, and in his own language, "Your questions," he said, "are all in vain. "Let my associates come; let them behold "my sufferings and my constancy; not all "the pangs you can inflict, shall wrest the "secret from me." On the following day, as they were again dragging him to the rack, he broke, with a sudden exertion, from the hands of the executioner, and dashing with violence against a stone, fell and expired. The murder of Piso was not thought to be the single crime of this bold assassin: the inhabitants of Termes, it was generally believed, entered into a conspiracy to cut off a man, who claimed restitution of the public money, which had been rescued from the collectors. Piso urged his demand with more rigour than suited the stubborn genius of a savage people.

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XLVI. Lentulus Gætulicus and Caius Calvisius succeeded to the consulship. During their administration, triumphal ornaments were decreed to Poppæus Sabinus, for his vic-

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tory over the people of Thrace; a clan of free-booters, who led a savage life on hills and rugged cliffs, without laws, or any notion of civil policy. Rushing down from their mountains, they waged a desultory war with wild ferocity. Their motives to a revolt were strong and powerful. They saw the flower of their youth carried off to recruit the Roman armies, and of course their numbers much reduced. Men, who measured their obedience, even to their own kings, by the mere caprice of Barbarians, were not willing to submit to the Roman yoke. On former occasions, when they were willing to act as auxiliaries, they gave the command of their forces to chiefs of their own nation, under an express condition, that they should serve against the neighbouring states only, and not be obliged to fight the battles of Rome in distant regions. In the present juncture an idea prevailed amongst them, that they were to be exterminated from their native soil, and mixed with other troops in foreign nations.

Before they had recourse to arms, they sent a deputation to Sabinus, stating "their former "friendship, and the passive disposition with "which they had heretofore submitted to the

" Roman generals. They were willing to continue in the same sentiments, provided no " new grievance gave them cause of complaint. But if the intention was to treat " them as a vanquished people; if the yoke " of slavery was prepared for their necks, they " abounded with men and steel, and they had " hearts devoted to liberty or death." Their ambassadors, after thus declaring themselves, pointed to their castles on the ridge of hills and rocks, where they had collected their families, their parents, and their wives. If the sword must be drawn, they threatened a campaign big with danger, in its nature difficult, fierce, and bloody.

XLVII. SABINUS, wishing to gain sufficient time for the assembling of his army, amused them with gentle answers. Meanwhile, Pomponius Labeo, with a legion from Mæsia, and Rhæmetalces, who reigned over part of Thrace, came up with a body of his subjects, who still retained their fidelity, and formed a junction against the rebels. Sabinus, thus reinforced, went in quest of the enemy. The Barbarians had taken post in the woods and narrow defiles. The bold and warlike shewed them-

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selves in force on the declivity of the hills. The Roman general advanced in regular order of battle. The mountaineers were put to flight, but with inconsiderable loss. The nature of the place favoured their retreat. Sabinus encamped on the spot deserted by the enemy, and, having raised entrenchments, marched with a strong detachment to an adjacent hill, narrow at the top, but, by a level and continued ridge, extending to a strong hold where the Barbarians had collected a prodigious multitude, some provided with arms, but the greater part no better than an undisciplined rabble.

The bravest of the malcontents appeared on the outside of their lines, according to the custom of Barbarians, dancing in wild distortion, and howling savage songs. The Roman archers advanced to attack them. They poured in a volley of darts, and wounded numbers with impunity, till, having approached too near, the besieged made a sally from the castle, and threw the Romans into disorder. An auxiliary cohort, which had been posted to advantage, came up to support the broken ranks. This body of reserve consisted

of the Sicambrians *(a)*, a wild ferocious people, who, like the Thracians, rushed to battle with the mingled uproar of a savage war-hoop, and the hideous clangor of their arms.

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XLVIII. Sabinus pitched a new camp near the fortifications of the castle. In the former entrenchments he left the Thracians, who had joined the army under the command of Rhœmetalces, with orders to ravage the country, and, as long as day-light lasted, to plunder, burn, and destroy; but, during the night, to remain within their lines, taking care to station outposts and sentinels, to prevent a surprise. These directions were at first duly observed; but a relaxation of discipline soon took place. Enriched with booty, the men gave themselves up to riot and dissipation; no sentinels fixed, and no guard appointed, the time was spent in carousals, and their whole camp lay buried in sleep and wine. The mountaineers, having good intelligence from their scouts, formed two separate divisions; one to fall on the roving freebooters, and the other, in the same moment, to storm the Romans in their entrenchments; not, indeed, with hopes of carrying the works, but chiefly to

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spread a double alarm, and cause a scene of wild confusion, in which the men, amidst a volley of darts, would be intent on their own immediate danger, and none would listen to the uproar of another battle. To augment the terror, both assaults began in the night. No impression was made on the legions: but the Thracian auxiliaries, stretched at ease in their entrenchments, or idly wandering about on the outside of the lines, were taken by surprise, and put to the sword without mercy. The slaughter raged with greater fury, as the mountaineers thought they were executing an act of vengeance on perfidious men, who deserted the common cause, and fought to enslave themselves and their country.

XLIX. On the following day Sabinus drew up his men on the open plain, expecting that the events of the preceding night would encourage the Barbarians to hazard a battle. Seeing that nothing could draw them from their works, or their fastnesses on the hills, he began a regular siege. A number of forts were thrown up, with all expedition, and a fosse, with lines of circumvallation, inclosed a space of four miles round. To cut off all supplies of water

and provisions, he advanced by degrees, and, raising new works, formed a close blockade on every side. From a high rampart the Romans were able to discharge a volley of stones, and darts, and firebrands. Thirst was the chief distress of the mountaineers. A single fountain was their only resource. The men who bore arms, and an infinite multitude incapable of service, were involved in one general calamity. The distress was still increased by the famine that raged among the horses and cattle, which, without any kind of distinction, according to the custom of Barbarians, lay intermixed with the men. In one promiscuous heap were to be seen the carcases of animals, and the bodies of soldiers who perished by the sword, or the anguish of thirst. Clotted gore, and stench, and contagion, filled the place. To complete their misery, internal discord, that worst of evils, added to the horror of the scene. Some were for laying down their arms; others, preferring self-destruction, proposed a general massacre; while a third party thought it better to sally out, and die sword in hand, fighting in the cause of liberty; a brave and generous counsel, different, indeed,

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from the advice of their comrades, but worthy of heroic minds.

L. The expedient of surrendering at discretion was adopted by one of the leading chiefs. His name was Dinis; a man advanced in years, and by long experience convinced as well of the clemency as the terror of the Roman name. To submit, he said, was their only remedy; and, accordingly, he threw himself, his wife, and children, on the mercy of the conqueror. He was followed by the weaker sex, and all who preferred slavery to a glorious death. Two other chiefs, by name Tarsa and Turesis, advised bolder measures. Between their opposite sentiments, the young and vigorous were divided. To fall with falling liberty was the resolution of both; but they chose different modes. Tarsa declared for immediate death, the end of all hopes and fears; and, to lead the way, he plunged a poignard in his breast. Numbers followed his example. Tarsesis was still resolved to sally out; and, for that purpose, he waited for the advantage of the night. The Roman general received intelligence, and, accordingly,

strengthened the guards at every post. Night came on, and brought with it utter darkness and tempestuous weather. With shouts and horrible howlings, followed at intervals by a profound and awful silence, the Barbarians kept the besiegers in a constant alarm. Sabinus rounded the watch, and at every post exhorted his men to be neither terrified by savage howlings, nor lulled into security by deceitful stillness. If taken by surprise, they would give to an insidious enemy every advantage. "Let each man continue fixed at "his post, and let no darts be thrown at ran-"dom, and, by consequence, without effect."

LI. The Barbarians, in different divisions, came rushing down from their hills. With massy stones, with clubs hardened by fire, and with trunks of trees, they attempted to batter a breach in the Roman palisade; they threw hurdles, faggots, and dead bodies into the trenches; they laid bridges over the fosse, and applied scaling ladders to the rampart; they grasped hold of the works; they endeavoured to force their way, and fought hand to hand. The garrison drove them back with their javelins, beat them down with their bucklers,

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and overwhelmed them with huge heaps of stones. Both sides fought with obstinate bravery; the Romans to complete a victory almost gained already, and to avoid the disgrace of suffering it to be wrested from them. On the part of the Barbarians, despair was courage; the last struggle for life inspired them, and the shrieks of their wives and mothers roused them to deeds of valour.

The darkness of the night favoured equally the coward and the brave. Blows were given at random, and where they fell was uncertain; wounds were received, no man could tell from whom. Friends and enemies were mixed without distinction. The shouts of the Barbarians, reverberated from the neighbouring hills, sounded in the ear of the Romans, as if the uproar was at their backs. They thought the enemy had stormed the entrenchments, and they fled from their posts. The Barbarians, however, were not able to force the works. The number that entered was inconsiderable. At the dawn of day they beheld a melancholy spectacle; the bravest of their comrades either disabled by their wounds, or lying dead on the spot. Disheartened at the

sight, they fled to their fortifications, and were at last compelled to surrender at discretion. The people in the neighbourhood made a voluntary submission. The few that still held out, were protected by the severity of the winter, which setting in, as is usual near Mount Hæmus, with intense rigour, the Roman general could neither attack them in their fastnesses, nor reduce them by a siege.

LII. At Rome, in the mean time, the imperial family was thrown into a state of distraction. As a prelude to the fate of Agrippina, a prosecution was commenced against Claudia Pulchra, her near relation. Domitius Afer *(a)* was the prosecutor; a man who had lately discharged the office of prætor, but had not risen to any degree of eminence or consideration in the state. Aspiring, bold, and turbulent, he was now determined to advance himself, by any means, however flagitious. The heads of his accusation were adultery with Furnius; a design to poison the emperor, and the secret practice of spells and magic incantations. The haughty spirit of Agrippina but ill could brook the danger of her friend. She rushed to the presence of Tiberius. Find-

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ing him in the act of offering a sacrifice to the manes of Augustus, she accosted him in a tone of vehemence. "The piety," she said, "which "thus employs itself in slaying victims to the "deceased emperor, agrees but ill with the "hatred that persecutes his posterity. Those "are senseless statues which you adore; they "are not animated with the spirit of Augustus. "His descendants are living images of him; "and yet even they, whose veins are warm "with his celestial blood, stand trembling on "the brink of peril. Why is Claudia Pulchra "devoted to destruction? What has she com-"mitted? She has loved Agrippina, to excess "has loved her; that is her only crime. Im-"provident woman! she might have remem-"bered Sosia *(b)*, undone and ruined for no "other reason." Tiberius felt the reproach: it drew from that inscrutable breast a sudden burst of resentment. He told Agrippina, in a Greek verse, "You are hurt, because you do "not reign *(c)*." Pulchra and Furnius were both condemned. In the conduct of the prosecution Domitius Afer shone forth with such a flame of eloquence, that he ranked at once with the most celebrated orators, and, by the suffrage of Tiberius, was pronounced an ori-

ginal genius, depending on his own native energy. From that time, he pursued the career of eloquence, sometimes engaged on the side of the accused, often against them, and always doing more honour to his talents, than to his moral character. As age advanced upon him, the love of hearing himself talk continued, when the ability was gone *(d)*. He remained, with decayed faculties, a superannuated orator.

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LIII. AGRIPPINA, weakened by a fit of illness, but still retaining the pride of her character, received a visit from Tiberius. She remained for some time fixed in silence; tears only forced their way. At length, in terms of supplication, mixed with bitter reproaches, she desired him to consider, "that widowhood "is a state of destitution. A second marriage "might assuage her sorrows. The season of "her youth was not entirely passed, and for a "woman of honour there was no resource but "in the conjugal state. There were at Rome "citizens of illustrious rank, who would, with "pride, take the widow and the children of "Germanicus to their protection." Tiberius saw in this request a spirit of ambition, that

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looked proudly towards the imperial dignity. Unwilling, notwithstanding, to discover his jealousy, he heard her with calm indifference, and left her without an answer. For this anecdote, not to be found in the historians of the time, I am indebted to the younger Agrippina *(a)*, the mother of the emperor Nero, who, in the memoirs of her life, has related her own misfortunes and those of her family.

LIV. The violence of Agrippina's passions, and the imprudence of her conduct, exposed her to the malice of Sejanus, who now had laid the seed-plots of her destruction. He sent his agents to inform her, under a mask of friendship, that she would do well to beware of poison, and avoid eating at the emperor's table. To dissemble was not the talent of Agrippina. Invited by Tiberius, and placed near his person, she remained silent, pensive, with downcast eyes, abstaining from every thing placed before her. Tiberius marked her behaviour, or perhaps the hint was previously given. To put her to the test, he praised the apples that stood near him, and helped her with his own hand. Agrippina was alarmed. Without so much as tasting the fruit, she gave

it to the servants to be conveyed away (a). Tiberius, always master of himself, with seeming inadvertence overlooked her behaviour, but took an opportunity to say privately to his mother, "Should this woman be treated "with severity, will any body wonder, when "she now imputes to me the guilt of dealing "in poison?" A report prevailed soon after, that the fate of Agrippina was determined; but the emperor would not venture to act with open violence; he knew that the public eye was upon him, and resolved, for that reason, to lie in wait for a clandestine murder.

LV. To check the murmurs of suspicion, and draw the public attention to other objects, Tiberius once more attended the debates of the fathers, and gave audience for several days to the ambassadors from different parts of Asia, all with ardour claiming a right to build, in their respective territories, the temple already mentioned. Eleven cities rivalled each other, not in power and opulence, but with equal zeal contending for the preference. They stated, with little variation, the antiquity of their origin, and their fidelity to Rome, in the various wars with Persius (c), Aristonicus,

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and other eastern princes. The people of Hypæpes *(b)*, the Trallians, Laodiceans, and Magnesians, were deemed unequal to the expence, and, for that reason, thrown out of the case. The inhabitants of Ilium *(c)* boasted that Troy was the cradle of the Roman people, and on that foundation rested their pretensions. The citizens of Halicarnassus *(d)* held the senate for some time in suspense. It was alleged on their behalf, that, during a series of twelve hundred years, they had not felt the shock of an earthquake, and they promised to build an edifice on a solid rock. The city of Pergamus made a merit of having already built a temple in honour of Augustus; but that distinction was deemed sufficient. At Ephesus, where Diana was adored, and at Miletus, where Apollo was worshipped, a new object of veneration was deemed unnecessary.

The question was now reduced to the cities of Sardes and Smyrna. The former read a decree, in which they were acknowledged by the Etrurians as a kindred nation. By this document it appeared, that Tyrrhenus and Lydus, both sons of king Atys *(e)*, finding

their country overstocked with inhabitants, agreed to form a separation. Lydus continued to occupy his native territory, and Tyrrhenus withdrew to settle a new colony. From that time the two nations were called by the names of their respective chiefs; in Asia, Lydians; Tyrrhenians in Italy. The Lydians multiplied their numbers with such increase, that they overflowed a second time. A migration passed over into Greece, and from Pelops, their leader, gave to the new territory the name of Peloponnesus. Besides these vouchers, the people of Sardes produced letters from some of the Roman generals, and also treaties of alliance during the wars in Macedonia. Nor did they forget to state the number of rivers that fertilized their soil, the temperature of their climate, and the plenty that covered the face of the country.

LVI. The deputies from Smyrna *(a)* thought fit to grace their cause with the antiquity of their origin: but whether their city was founded by Tantalus, the son of Jupiter; by Theseus, the son of a God; or by one of the ancient Amazons, they left as a question

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of curiosity; relying more on their constant attachment to the Romans, whom they had assisted with a naval force, not only in their wars with foreign nations, but in those that involved all Italy. They thought it of moment to observe, that, of all the cities in Asia, they were the first that built a temple in honour of the Roman name. This they had done in the consulship of Marcus Porcius Cato *(b)*, at a time when the republic was undoubtedly in a flourishing condition, but had not yet attained that meridian splendor, which afterwards followed the success of her arms. Carthage *(c)* still subsisted, and the kings of Asia were unsubdued. For proof of still greater merit, the deputies appealed to the testimony of Lucius Sylla. When the legions under that commander, well nigh reduced to famine by the severity of the winter, and distressed for want of clothing, were in danger of being destroyed, their condition was no sooner known at Smyrna, than the people, then assembled in a public convention, with one generous impulse, threw off their clothes, and sent them to supply the necessities of the Roman army. The question was thereupon put by the senate, and the city of Smyrna prevailed.

Vibius Marsus moved, that, in aid to Marcus Lepidus, who had obtained the province by lot, an officer extraordinary should be put in commission, to superintend the building of the temple. The delicacy of Lepidus not permitting him to choose his coadjutor, the names of such as were of prætorian rank were drawn by lot, and the chance fell on Valerius Naso. BOOK IV. A. U. C. 779. A. D. 26.

LVII. In this juncture, Tiberius, bent on the measure which he had often ruminated, and as often procrastinated, set out for Campania, under the plausible pretence of dedicating a temple to Jupiter at Capua, and another to Augustus at Nola, but, in truth, determined never to return to Rome. Relying on the authority of eminent historians, I have ascribed the secret cause of this retreat to the artifice of Sejanus *(a)*; but when it is considered, that, after the downfal of that minister, Tiberius passed the six following years in the same recluse manner, I am inclined to refer the whole to the workings of a dark and politic spirit, that wished to hide in solitude the lust and cruelty, which in his actions were too manifest to the world. At Rome there was a current opi-

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nion, that, towards the end of life, he was unwilling to exhibit to public view a tall emaciated figure *(b)*, a body sinking under the weight of years, a bald head, a scrofulous face, and a number of blotches covered with medical applications *(c)*. It is well known, that during his retreat at the Isle of Rhodes, he shunned society, and passed his time in secret gratifications. According to some writers, it was the domineering spirit *(d)* of his mother that drove him from Rome. To admit her to a share in the government was not in his nature: and to exclude her altogether was not in his power, since it was to her that he owed his elevation. Augustus, it is certain, at one point of time, favoured Germanicus, the grandson of his sister, and even thought of raising him to the supreme authority; but, being governed by his wife, he gave her son the preference, and left Germanicus to be adopted by Tiberius. With these services Livia taxed her son; and what she had given, she considered as a deposit liable to be resumed.

LVIII. Tiberius departed from Rome with a slender retinue. In his train were Cocceius Nerva *(a)*, a senator of consular

rank, celebrated for his legal knowledge; Sejanus the favourite minister; and Curtius Atticus *(b)*, a Roman knight. These were the only persons of rank. The rest were distinguished by nothing but their literature; mostly Greeks *(c)*, men whose talents amused him in his hours of leisure. The professors of judicial astrology declared their opinion, that the position of the planets, under which Tiberius left the capital, made his return impossible. This prediction gained credit, and the death of the emperor being, by consequence, thought near at hand, numbers, who had been bold enough to circulate the rumour, brought on their own destruction. That the prince should remain, during the space of eleven years, a voluntary exile from the seat of government, was an event beyond the reach of human foresight. In the end, however, the art of such, as pretend to see into futurity, was discovered to be vain and frivolous. It was seen how nearly truth and falsehood are allied, and how much the facts, which happen to be foretold, are involved in darkness. That Tiberius would return no more, was a prophecy verified by the event; the rest was altogether visionary, since we find, that, long after that time, he appeared in the neighbourhood of

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Rome, sometimes on the adjacent shore, often in the suburbs, and died at last in the extremity of old age.

LIX. While the reports of the astrologers were scattered abroad, an accident, which put Tiberius in danger of his life, added to the credulity of the people, but, at the same time, raised Sejanus higher than ever in the affections and esteem of his master. It happened, that in a cave formed by nature, at a villa called Spelunca *(a)*, between the Gulf of Amyclé and the hills of Fondi, Tiberius was at a banquet with a party of his friends, when the stones at the entrance gave way on a sudden, and crushed some of the attendants. The guests were alarmed, and fled for safety. Sejanus, to protect his master, fell on his knee, and with his whole force sustained the impending weight. In that attitude he was found by the soldiers, who came to relieve the prince. From that time the power of the minister knew no bounds. A man, who, in the moment of danger, could shew so much zeal for his master, and so little attention to himself, was heard with affection and unlimited confidence. His counsels, however pernicious, were received as the dictates of truth and honour.

Towards the children of Germanicus, Sejanus affected to act with the integrity of a judge, while in secret he was their inveterate enemy. He suborned a band of accusers; and Nero, then presumptive heir to the empire, was the first devoted victim. The young prince, unhackneyed in the ways of men, modest in his deportment, and in his manners amiable, had not the prudence that knows how to temporise and bend to occasions. The freedmen, and others about his person, eager to grasp at power, encouraged him to act with firmness, and a spirit suited to his rank. Such behaviour, they told him, would gratify the wishes of the people; the army desired it, and the pride of Sejanus would soon be crest-fallen, though at present he triumphed over the worn-out faculties of a superannuated emperor, and the careless disposition of a young and inexperienced prince.

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LX. Roused by these discourses, Nero began to throw off all reserve. Guilt was foreign to his heart; but expressions of resentment fell from him, inconsiderate, rash and unguarded. His words were caught up by spies about his person, and reported with

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aggravation. Against the malice of insidious men the prince had no opportunity to defend himself. He lived in constant anxiety, and every day brought some new alarm. Some of the domestics avoided his presence; others paid a formal salute, and coldly passed away; the greatest part entered into talk, and abruptly broke off the conversation; while the creatures of Sejanus, affecting to be free and easy, added mockery to their arrogance.

The emperor received the prince with a stern countenance, or an ambiguous smile. Whether Nero spoke, or suppressed his thoughts, every word was misconstrued, and even silence was a crime. The night itself gave him no respite from his cares, no retreat from danger. His waking moments, his repose, his sighs, his very dreams, informed against him: his wife *(a)* carried the tale to her mother Livia, and the last whispered every thing to Sejanus. By that dark politician even Drusus, the brother of Nero, was drawn into the conspiracy. To dazzle the imagination of a stripling, the splendor of empire, and the sure succession, when the ruin of the elder brother was completed,

were held forth as bright temptations. The spirit of contention, common between brothers, was with Drusus an additional motive; and the partiality of Agrippina for her eldest son inflamed a young man, who was by nature violent and ambitious. Sejanus, in the mean time, while he seemed to cherish Drusus, was busily employed in schemes to undermine him. He knew the haughty temper of the prince, and from the violence of his passions expected to derive every advantage.

LXI. Towards the end of the year died two illustrious citizens *(a)*, Asinius Agrippa, and Quintus Haterius. The former was of an honourable but not ancient family. His own character reflected lustre on his ancestors. Haterius *(b)* was descended from a race of senators. His eloquence, while he lived, was in the highest celebrity; but his writings, published since his death, are not regarded as monuments of genius. Warm and rapid, he succeeded more through happiness than care. Diligence and depth of thinking, which give the last finishing to other works, and stamp their value with posterity, were not the talent of Haterius. His flowing period, and that harmonious cadence

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which charmed in the living orator, are now no longer heard. His page remains a dead letter, without grace or energy.

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LXII. In the next consulship, which was that of Marcus Licinius and Lucius Calpurnius, an unforeseen disaster, no sooner begun than ended, laid a scene of ruin equal to the havoc of the most destructive war. A man of the name of Atilius, the son of a freedman, undertook at Fidena *(a)* to build an amphitheatre for the exhibition of gladiators. The foundation was slight, and the superstructure not sufficiently braced; the work of a man, who had neither the pride of wealth, nor the ambition to make himself of consequence in a municipal town. The profit that might probably arise from such a scheme, was all he had in view. The people, under the austerity of a rigid and unsocial government deprived of their usual diversions, were eager for the novelty of a public spectacle *(b)*; and the place being at no great distance from Rome, a vast conflux of men and women, old and young, crowded together. The consequence was, that the building, overloaded with spectators, gave way at once. All who were under the roof,

besides a prodigious multitude that stood round the place, were crushed under the ruins. The condition of those who perished instantly, was the happiest. They escaped the pangs of death, while the maimed and lacerated lingered in torment, beholding, as long as day-light lasted, their wives and children in equal agony, and, during the night, pierced to the heart by their shrieks and groans. A calamity so fatal was soon known round the country. Crowds from all quarters went to view the melancholy scene. One lamented a brother, another his near relation; children wept for their parents, and almost all for their friends. Such as by their avocations had been led a different way, were given up for lost. The real sufferers were still unknown, and, in that dreadful state of suspense, every bosom panted with doubt and fear.

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LXIII. The ruins were no sooner removed, than the crowd rushed in to examine the place. They gathered round the dead bodies; they clasped them in their arms; they imprinted kisses, and often mistook the person. Disfigured faces, parity of age, and similitude of form and feature, occasion-

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ed great confusion. Claims were made, a tender contest followed, and errors were acknowledged. The number of killed or maimed was not less than fifty thousand *(a)*. The senate provided by a decree, that, for the future, no man, whose fortune was under four hundred thousand sesterces, should presume to exhibit a spectacle of gladiators, and that, till the foundation was examined, no amphitheatre should be erected. Atilius, the builder, was condemned to banishment. The grandees of Rome displayed their humanity on this occasion: they threw open their doors; they ordered medicines to be distributed, and the physicians attended with assiduity in every quarter. The city of Rome recalled, in that juncture, an image of ancient manners, when, after a battle bravely fought, the sick and wounded were received with open arms, and relieved by the generosity of their country.

LXIV. While the public mind was still bleeding for the late calamity, a dreadful fire laid waste a great part of the city. Mount Cælius *(a)* was reduced to ashes. The populace began to murmur. The year, they said, was big with disasters, and the prince de-

parted from Rome under an evil constellation. Such is the logic of the multitude: what happens by chance they impute to design. To appease their discontent, Tiberius ordered a distribution of money in proportion to the damage of individuals. For this act of liberality, the senate passed a vote of thanks, and the people were loud in praise of munificence, so seasonably applied, and granted indiscriminately. No man had occasion to make interest; it was enough that he was a sufferer. The fathers came to a resolution, that Mount Cælius, where a statue of Tiberius, in the house of Junius the senator, escaped the fury of the flames, should for the future be called Mount Augustus. A prodigy of a similar nature happened in ancient times. The statue *(b)* of Claudia Quinctia was saved twice from a general conflagration, and, on that account, placed and dedicated in the temple of the Mother of the Gods. The Claudian family was ever after considered as peculiarly favoured by heaven, and the spot where the gods were lately so propitious to Tiberius, was declared to be consecrated ground.

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LXV. It will not perhaps be improper to

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mention in this place, that the mount, of which we have been speaking, was, in the early ages of Rome, covered with a grove of oaks, and for that reason called QUERQUETULANUS. It took afterwards the name of Cælius from Cæles Vibenna, an Etrurian chief, who marched at the head of his countrymen, to assist the Romans, and for that service had the spot assigned to him as a canton for himself and his people. Whether this was the act of Tarquinius Priscus, or some other Roman king, is not settled by the historians. Thus much is certain; the number transplanted was so great, that their new habitation extended from the mount along the plain beneath, as far as the spot where the forum stands at present. From those settlers the TUSCAN STREET derives its name *(a)*.

LXVI. THOUGH the sufferings of the people, in their late distress, were alleviated by the bounty of the prince, and the humanity of the great, there was still an evil, against which no remedy could be found. The crew of informers rose in credit every day, and covered the city with consternation. Quintilius Varus *(a)*, the son of Claudia Pulchra, and

nearly related to the emperor, was marked out as a victim. His large possessions tempted Domitius Afer who had already ruined the mother. The blow now aimed at the son, was no more than was expected from a man, who had lived in indigence, and, having squandered the wages of his late iniquity, was ready to find a new quarry for his avarice. But that a man like Publius Dolabella, nobly descended, and related to Varus, should become an instrument in the destruction of his own family, was matter of wonder. The senate stopped the progress of the mischief. They resolved that the cause should stand over till the emperor's return to Rome. Procrastination was the only refuge of the unhappy.

LXVII. TIBERIUS, in the mean time, dedicated the two temples in Campania, which served him as a pretext for quitting the city of Rome. That business finished, he issued an edict, warning the neighbouring cities not to intrude upon his privacy. For better security, he placed a guard at proper stations, to prevent all access to his person. These precautions, however, did not content him. Hating the municipal towns, weary of the co-

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lonies, and sick of every thing on the continent, he passed over to Capreæ *(a)*, a small island, separated from the promontory of Surrentum by an arm of the sea, not more than three miles broad. Defended there from all intrusion, and delighted with the solitude of the place, he sequestered himself from the world, seeing, as may be imagined, many circumstances suited to his humour. Not a single port in the channel; the stations but few, and those accessible only to small vessels; no part of the island, where men could land unobserved *(b)* by the sentinels; the climate inviting; in the winter a soft and genial air, under the shelter of a mountain that repels the inclemency of the winds; in the summer, the heat allayed by the western breeze; the sea presenting a smooth expanse, and opening a view of the bay of Naples, with a beautiful landscape on its borders: all these conspired to please the taste and genius of Tiberius. The scene, indeed, has lost much of its beauty, the fiery eruptions of Mount Vesuvius *(c)* having, since that time, changed the face of the country.

If we may believe an old tradition, a colony from Greece was formerly settled on the

posite coast of Italy, and the Teleboi were in possession of the isle of Capreæ. Be that as it may, Tiberius chose for his residence twelve different villas *(d)*, all magnificent and well fortified. Tired of public business, he now resigned himself to his favourite gratifications, amidst his solitary vices still engendering mischief. The habit of nourishing dark suspicions, and believing every whisperer, still adhered to him. At Rome Sejanus knew how to practise on such a temper; but in this retreat he governed him with unbounded influence. Having gained the ascendant, he thought it time to fall on Agrippina and her son Nero, not, as heretofore, with covered malice, but with open and avowed hostility. He gave them a guard, under colour of attending their persons, but in fact to be spies on their actions. Every circumstance was noted; their public and their private discourse, their messengers, their visitors, all were closely watched, and a journal kept of petty occurrences. The agents of Sejanus, by order of their master, advised them both to fly for protection to the German army, or to take sanctuary under the statue of Augustus in the public forum, and there implore

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the protection of the senate and the people. The advice was rejected; but the project, as if their own, and ripe for excution, was imputed to them as a crime.

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LXVIII. Junius Silanus and Silius Nerva were the next consuls. The year began with a transaction of the blackest dye. Titius Sabinus *(a)*, a Roman knight of high distinction, was seized with violence, and dragged to prison. His steady attachment to the house of Germanicus was his only crime. After the death of that unfortunate prince, he continued firm to Agrippina and her children: at her house a constant visitor; in public a sure attendant, and, of the whole number that formerly paid their court, the only friend at last. His constancy was applauded by every honest mind, and censured by the vile and profligate. Four men of prætorian rank entered into a conspiracy to work his ruin. Their names were Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, and Marcus Opsius. They had all attained the prætorian rank, and now aspired to the consulship. The road to that dignity they knew was open to none but the creatures of Sejanus, and to the favour of that minister guilt was the only recommendation.

The conspirators settled among themselves, that Latiaris, who had some connection with Sabinus, should undertake to lay the snare, while the rest lay in wait for evidence, determined, as soon as their materials were collected, to begin their scene of iniquity, and stand forth as witnesses.

Latiaris accordingly made his approaches to Sabinus: he talked at first on trite and common topics, artfully making a transition to the fidelity of Sabinus, who did not, like others, follow the fortunes of a noble house, while fortune smiled, and, in the hour of adversity, sound his retreat with the rest of the sneaking train. He made honourable mention of Germanicus, and spoke of Agrippina in pathetic terms. Sabinus, with a mind enfeebled by misfortunes, and now softened by compassion, burst into a flood of tears. To emotions of tenderness resentment succeeded. He talked, with indignation, of the cruelty of Sejanus, of his pride, his arrogance, and his daring ambition. The emperor himself did not escape. From this time, like men who had unbosomed their secrets to each other, Latiaris and Sabinus joined in the closest

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union. They cultivated each other's friendship. Sabinus sought the company of his new confederate; he frequented his house, and without reserve, in the fullest confidence disclosed his inmost thoughts.

LXIX. The conspirators held it necessary, that the conversation of Sabinus should be heard by more than one. A place for this purpose, secure and solitary, was to be chosen. To listen behind doors, were to hazard a discovery; they might be seen or overheard, or some trifling accident might give the alarm. The scene of action at length was fixed. They chose the cavity between the roof of the house and the ceiling of the room. In that vile lurking hole, with an execrable design, three Roman senators lay concealed, their ears applied to chinks and crannies, listening to conversation, and by fraud collecting evidence. To complete this plan of iniquity, Latiaris met Sabinus in the street, and, under pretence of communicating secret intelligence, decoyed him to the house, and to the very room where the infamous eavesdroppers lay in ambush. In that recess Latiaris entered into conversation; he recalled past grievances; he stated recent cala-

mities, and opened a train of evils still to come. Sabinus went over the same ground, more animated than before, and more in the detail. When griefs, which have been long pent up, once find a vent, men love to discharge the load that weighs upon the heart. From the materials thus collected, the conspirators drew up an accusation in form, and sent it to the emperor, with a memorial, to their own disgrace and infamy, setting forth the whole of their conduct. Rome was never at any period so distracted with anxiety and terror. Men were afraid of knowing each other; society was at a pause; relations, friends, and strangers, stood at gaze; no public meeting, no private confidence; things inanimate had ears, and roofs and walls were deemed informers.

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LXX. On the calends of January, Tiberius dispatched at letter to the Senate, in which, after expressing, as usual in the beginning of the year, his prayers and vows for the commonwealth, he fell with severity on Sabinus. He charged him with a plot against his sovereign, and with corrupting, for that purpose, several of the imperial freedmen. He concluded in terms neither dark nor am-

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biguous, demanding vengeance on the offender. Judgment of death was pronounced accordingly. Sabinus *(a)* was seized, and dragged through the streets to immediate execution. Muffled in his robe, his voice almost stifled, he presented to the gazing multitude a tragic spectacle. He cried out with what power of utterance he could, "Behold the bloody opening of the year! "With victims like myself Sejanus must be "glutted!" He continued to struggle and throw his eyes around. Wherever he looked, to whatever side he directed his voice, the people shrunk back dismayed; they fled, they disappeared; the public places and the forum were abandoned; the streets became a desert. In their confusion some returned to the same spot, as if willing to behold the horrid scene, alarmed for themselves, and dreading the crime of being terrified.

The general murmur was, "Will there "never be a day unpolluted with blood?— "Amidst the rites and ceremonies of a sea- "son sacred to religion, when all business is "at a stand, and the use of profane words is "by law prohibited, we hear the clank of "chains; we see the halter, and the murder

" of a fellow-citizen. The innovation, mon- BOOK IV.
" strous as it is, is a deliberate act, the policy
" of Tiberius. He means to make cruelty A. U. C. 781. A. D. 28.
" systematic. By this unheard-of outrage,
" he gives public notice to the magistrates,
" that on the first day of the year, they are
" to open, not only the temples and the
" altars, but also the dungeons and the
" charnel-house." Tiberius, in a short time after, sent dispatches to the senate, commending the zeal of the fathers in bringing to condign punishment an enemy of the state. He added, that his life was embittered with anxiety, and the secret machinations of insidious enemies kept him in a constant alarm. Though he mentioned no one by name, his malice was understood to glance at Nero and Agrippina.

LXXI. The plan of this work professes to give the transactions of the year in chronological order. If that rule did not restrain me, I should here be tempted to anticipate the time, and, to gratify indignation, relate the vengeance that overtook Latiaris *(a)*, Opsius, and the other actors in that horrible tragedy. Some of them were reserved for

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the reign of Caligula; but, even in the present period, the sword of justice was not suffered to remain inactive. The fact was, Tiberius made it a rule to protect his instruments of cruelty; but it was also in his nature to be satiated with the arts of flagitious men: new tools of corruption listed in his service; and his former agents, worn out in guilt, neglected and despised, were cashiered at once, and left to the resentment of their enemies. But I forbear; the punishment that befel the murderers of Sabinus, and other miscreants equally detestable, shall be seen in its proper place.

The emperor's letter above-mentioned being read in the senate, Asinius Gallus *(b)*, whose sons were nephews to Agrippina, moved an address, requesting the prince to reveal his secret disquietude, that the wisdom of the fathers might remove all cause of complaint. Dissimulation was the darling practice of Tiberius, and he placed it in the rank of virtues. Hating detection, and jealous of prying eyes, he was now enraged against the man who seemed to have fathomed his latent meaning. Sejanus appeased his anger, not out of friend-

ship to Gallus, but to leave Tiberius to the workings of his own gloomy temper. The favourite had studied the genius of his master. He knew that he could think with phlegm, slow to reslove, yet gathering rancour, and, in the end, sure to break out with fiercer vengeance. BOOK IV. A. U. C. 781. A. D. 28.

About this time died Julia *(c)*, the granddaughter of Augustus, during that prince's reign convicted of adultery, and banished to the isle of Trimetus *(d)*, near the coast of Apulia. At that place she languished in exile during a space of three-and-twenty years, a wretched dependant on the bounty of Livia, who first cut off the grandsons of Augustus, in their day of splendor, and then made a shew of compassion for the rest of the family, who were suffered to survive in misery.

LXXII. In the course of this year the Frisians, a people dwelling beyond the Rhine *(a)*, broke out into open acts of hostility. The cause of the insurrection was not the restless spirit of a nation impatient of the yoke; they were driven to despair by Roman avarice. A moderate tribute, such as suited

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the poverty of the people, consisting of raw hides for the use of the legions, had been formerly imposed by Drusus *(b)*. To specify the exact size and quality of the hide was an idea that never entered into the head of any man, till Olennius, the first centurion of a legion, being appointed governor over the Frisians, collected a quantity of the hides of forest bulls *(c)*, and made them the standard both of weight and dimension. To any other nation this would have been a grievous burthen, but was altogether impracticable in Germany, where the cattle, running wild in large tracts of forest, are of prodigious size, while the breed for domestic uses is remarkably small. The Frisians groaned under this oppressive demand. They gave up first their cattle, next their lands; and finally were obliged to see their wives and children carried into slavery by way of commutation. Discontent and bitter resentment filled the breasts of injured men. They applied for redress, but without effect. In despair they took up arms, they seized the tax-gatherers, and hung them upon gibbets. Olennius made his escape. He fled for refuge to a castle known by the name of FLEVUM *(d)*, at that time garrisoned by a strong party of Romans and auxiliaries, who

were stationed in that quarter for the defence of the country bordering on the German Ocean.

LXXIII. Intelligence of this revolt no sooner reached Lucius Apronius, at that time propraetor of the Lower Germany, than he drew together from the Upper Rhine a detachment of the legionary veterans, with the flower of the allied horse and infantry. Having now two armies, he sailed down the Rhine, and made a descent on the territory of the Frisians, then employed in a close blockade of Flevum castle. To defend their country against the invaders, the Barbarians thought proper, on the approach of the Romans, to abandon the siege. The æstuaries in that country, formed by the influx of the sea, are a grand obstacle to military operations. Apronius ordered bridges to be prepared, and causeways to be thrown over the marshes. Meanwhile, the fords and shallows being discovered, he sent the cavalry of the Caninefates *(a)* and the German infantry that served under him, with orders to pass over, and take post in the rear of the enemy. The Frisians, drawn up in order of battle, gave

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them a warm reception. The whole detachment, with the legionary horse sent to support the ranks, was put to the rout. Apronius dispatched three light cohorts; two more followed, and, in a short time, the whole cavalry of the auxiliaries; a force sufficient, had they made one joint attack; but coming up in separate divisions, and at different times, they were neither able to rally the broken ranks, nor, in the general panic, to make head against the enemy.

In this distress, Cethegus Labeo, who commanded the fifth legion, received orders to advance with the remainder of the allies. That officer soon found himself pressed on every side. He sent messenger after messenger to call forth the whole strength of the army. His own legion, being the fifth, rushed forward to his assistance. A sharp engagement followed. The Barbarians, at length, gave ground; and the auxiliary cohorts, faint with fatigue, and disabled by their wounds, were rescued from the sword of the enemy. The Roman general neither pursued the fugitives, nor staid to bury the slain, though a number of tribunes and officers of rank, with

centurions of distinguished bravery, lay dead on the field of battle. By deserters intelligence was afterwards brought, that no less than nine hundred Romans were surrounded in the forest called BADUHENNA *(b)*, and after a gallant defence, which lasted till the dawn of day, were to a man cut to pieces. Another body, consisting of no less than four hundred, threw themselves into a strong mansion belonging to Cruptorix, a German chief, who had formerly served in the Roman army: but this whole party, afraid of treachery, and dreading nothing so much as being delivered into the hands of the enemy, turned their swords against each other, and perished by mutual slaughter.

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LXXIV. THE name of the Frisians was, by consequence, celebrated throughout Germany. Tiberius, with his usual closeness, endeavoured to conceal the loss, aware that a war would call for a new commander, and that important trust he was unwilling to commit to any person whatever. As to the senate; events that happened on the remote frontiers of the empire, made little impression on that assembly. Domestic grievances

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were more interesting: every man trembled for himself, and flattery was his only resource. With this spirit the fathers, at a time when matters of moment demanded their attention, made it their first business to decree an altar to Clemency, and another to Friendship; both to be decorated with the statues of Tiberius and Sejanus. They voted, at the same time, an humble address, requesting that the prince and his minister would condescend to shew themselves to the people of Rome. Neither of them entered the city, nor even approached the suburbs. To leave their island on a sailing party, and exhibit themselves on the coast of Campania, was a sufficient favour.

To enjoy that transient view, all degrees and orders of men, the senators, the Roman knights, and the populace, pressed forward in crowds. The favourite attracted the attention of all, but was difficult of access. To gain admission to his presence was the work of cabal, intrigue, or connection in guilt. Sejanus felt his natural arrogance inflamed and pampered by a scene of servility so openly displayed before him. He saw a

whole people crouching in bondage. At Rome the infamy was not so visible. In a great and populous city, where all are in motion, the sycophant may creep unnoticed to pay his homage. In a vast conflux, numbers are constantly passing and repassing; but their business, their pursuits, whence they come, and whither they are going, no man knows. On the margin of the sea the case was different. Without distinction of rank, the nobles and the populace lay in the fields, or on the shore, humbly waiting, night and day, to court the smiles of the porter at the great man's gate, or to bear the insolence of slaves in office. Even that importunity was at length prohibited. The whole herd returned to Rome; some, who had been honoured with a word or a smile, sinking into the lowest dejection of spirits; others elate with joy, for they had seen the favourite, and did not then suspect how soon that fatal connection was to overwhelm them all in ruin.

LXXV. The year closed with the marriage of Agrippina *(a)*, one of the daughters of Germanicus. Tiberius gave her away in

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person to Cneius Domitius *(b)*, but ordered the nuptial ceremony to be performed at Rome. Domitius was descended from a splendid line of ancestors, and, besides, allied to the house of Cæsar. He was the grandson of Octavia, and of course grand nephew to Augustus. By this consideration Tiberius was determined in his choice.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK V.

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In this place a chasm of near three years: the supplement begins with the section marked with figures, instead of the Roman numeral letters.

1. *Designs of Sejanus against Agrippina and Nero.* 2. *Violent prosecutions: Tiberius violent against all the friends of his mother.* 3. *Tranquillity through all the Roman provinces.* 4. *Remarkable letter from Tiberius to the senate.* 5. *Agrippina and Nero voted public enemies. Both taken into custody. She is confined near Herculaneum. A centurion beats out her eye. She is banished to Pandataria, and Nero to Pontia, where he is put to death. Sejanus plots the ruin of Drusus, the second son of Germanicus. He seduces Æmilia Lepida to join him against her husband.* 7. *Drusus made a prisoner in the lower part of the pa-*

lace. 8. *Tiberius begins to suspect Sejanus, but amuses him with warm professions of friendship.* 10. *Popularity of Sejanus: his statues erected at Rome: his birth-day celebrated.* 11. *Velleius Paterculus the historian: he is the creature of Sejanus, and sullies his history with adulation.* 13. *Tiberius suspects Asinius Gallus and Lentulus Gætulicus, the professed friend of Sejanus. The stratagem by which Tiberius contrives the ruin of Asinius Gallus.* 15. *Sejanus is loaded with honours by the emperor: Livia, the widow of Drusus, given to him in marriage.* 17. *Tiberius resolved to remove Sejanus to Rome, and for that purpose makes him joint consul with himself. Sejanus makes his entry into Rome, and is received with demonstrations of joy.* 20. *The cruelty of Sejanus. Death of Germinius Rufus and Prisca his wife. The consulship extended by a decree to a term of five years.* 22. *Tiberius annuls the decree; he resigns the consulship, and makes Sejanus do the same.* 23. *Sejanus wishes to return to the isle of Capreæ; Tiberius objects to it, and says he means to visit Rome.* 24. *The young Caligula raised to the honours of augur and pontiff. Sejanus is honoured with religious worship: Tiberius forbids such impious mockery even to himself.* 26. *Sejanus driven almost to despair: he forms a conspiracy, determined at all events to seize the reins of government. Satrius Secundus betrays him to Antonia, the sister-in-law of Tiberius. Pallas, then a slave, but afterwards the favourite of the emperor Claudius, is sent by Antonia to inform against Sejanus.* 28. *Measures of Tiberius to defeat Sejanus. Macro sent to Rome to command the prætorian guards. Artful proceedings against Sejanus. Regulus, the*

consul, and Laco, captain of the city cohorts, join against Sejanus, and take him into custody in the senate-house. 33. *He is dragged to prison; insults of the populace; his death. Decrees of the senate against his memory.* 35. *Honours decreed to Macro and Laco, but by them prudently rejected.* 37. *Junius Blæsus, uncle to Sejanus, put to death; as also the eldest son of Sejanus. Apicata, the first wife of Sejanus, but divorced from him, discovers the particulars of the murder of Drusus by her husband and the younger Livia, and then puts an end to her days.* 38. *Death of Livia, by order of Tiberius.* 39. *His opinion of Caligula.* 40. *Acts of cruelty by Tiberius in the isle of Capreæ, displayed in various instances.*

43. From the end of this section Tacitus goes on to the end of the book.

VI. *The speech of an illustrious senator, whose name is lost: his fortitude, and manner of dying.* VIII. *P. Vitellius and Pomponius Secundus accused, but not brought to trial. Vitellius dies broken-hearted. Pomponius out-lives Tiberius.* IX. *A son and daughter of Sejanus, the last of his family, put to death by order of the senate.* X. *A counterfeit Drusus in Greece. The impostor detected by Poppæus Sabinus.* XI. *Dissensions between the two consuls.*

These transactions include three years.

Years of Rome	Of Christ.	Consuls.
782	29	*L. Rubellius Geminus, C. Fusius Geminus.*
783	30	*Marcus Vinicius, L. Cassius Longinus.*

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
784	31	*Tiberius 5th time, L. Ælius Sejanus.*
About the middle of May in the same year for three months.		*Cornelius Sulla, Sexteidius Catullinus.*
From the middle of August in the same year.		*Memmius Regulus, Fulcinius Trio.*

THE

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BOOK V.

I. DURING the consulship of Rubellius Geminus and Fusius *(a)*, who bore the same surname, died, in an advanced old age, the emperor's mother Livia *(b)*, styled Julia Augusta. Illustrious by her descent from the house of Claudius, she was further ennobled by adoption into the Livian and the Julian families. She was first married to Tiberius Nero *(c)*, and by him was the mother of two sons. Her husband, when the city of Perusia was obliged to surrender to the arms of Augustus, made his escape, and wandered from place to place, till the peace between Sextus Pompeius and the triumvirate restored him

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to his country. Enamoured of the graceful form and beauty of Livia, Augustus obliged her husband to resign her to his embraces. Whether she had consented to the change, is uncertain; but the passion of the emperor was so ardent, that, without waiting till she was delivered of the fruit of her womb, he conveyed her, pregnant as she was, to his own house. By this second marriage she had no issue; but Agrippina and Germanicus *(d)* being joined in wedlock, Livia became allied to the house of Cæsar, and the issue of that match were the common great grand-children of Augustus and herself. Her domestic conduct was formed on the model of primitive manners; but by a graceful ease, unknown to her sex in the time of the republic, she had the address to soften the rigour of ancient virtue. A wife of amiable manners, yet a proud and imperious mother, she united in herself the opposite qualities that suited the specious arts of Augustus, and the dark dissimulation of her son. The rites of sepulture *(e)* were performed without pomp or magnificence. Her will remained for a long time unexecuted. The funeral oration was delivered from the rostrum by

her great grandson Caius Cæsar, afterwards Caligula, the emperor.

II. Tiberius did not attend to pay the last melancholy duties to his mother. He continued to riot in voluptuous pleasures, but the weight of business was his apology to the senate. Public honours were, with great profusion, decreed to her memory: Tiberius, under the mask of moderation, retrenched the greatest part *(a)*, expressly forbidding the forms of religious worship. On that point he knew the sentiments of his mother; it was her desire not to be deified. In the same letter that conveyed his directions to the senate, he passed a censure on the levity of female friendship; by that remark obliquely glancing at Fusius the consul, who owed his elevation to the partiality of Livia. The fact was, Fusius had brilliant talents. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the art of recommending himself to the softer sex. His conversation sparkled with wit. In his lively sallies he did not spare even Tiberius himself, forgetting that the raillery which plays with the foibles of the great, is long remembered, and seldom forgiven.

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III. From this time may be dated the æra of a furious, headlong, and despotic government. The rage of Tiberius knew no bounds. While his mother lived, his passions were rebuked, and in some degree controuled. He had been from his infancy in the habit of submitting to her judgment; and to counteract her authority was more than Sejanus dared to undertake. By the death of Livia all restraint was thrown off. The prince and his minister broke out with unbridled fury. A letter was dispatched to the senate, in bitter terms arraigning the conduct of Agrippina and her son Nero. The charge was generally supposed to have been framed, and even forwarded to Rome, during the life of Livia, but, by her influence, for that time suppressed. The violence of the proceeding, so soon after her death, gave rise to the opinion entertained by the populace. The letter was conceived in a style of exquisite malice, containing, however, against the grandson no imputation of treason, no plot to levy war against the state. The crimes objected to him were unlawful pleasures, and a life of riot and debauchery. Agrippina's character was proof

against the shafts of malice. Her haughty carriage and unconquerable pride were the only allegations that could be urged against her. The fathers sat in profound silence, covered with astonishment. At length that class of men, who by fair and honourable means had nothing to hope, seized the opportunity to convert to their own private advantage the troubles and misfortunes of their country. A motion was made that the contents of the letter should be taken into consideration. Cotta Messalinus *(a)*, the most forward of the party, a man ever ready to join in any profligate vote, seconded the motion; but the leading members of the senate, particularly the magistrates, remained in a state of doubt and perplexity. They saw no ground for proceeding in a business of so high a nature, communicated indeed with acrimony, but wanting precision, and ending abruptly, without any clear or definite purpose.

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IV. Junius Rusticus, who had been appointed by the emperor to register *(a)* the acts of the fathers, was, at that time, present in the assembly. From the nature of his

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employment he was supposed to be in the secrets of his master. He rose on a sudden, under the impulse of some emotion unfelt before: magnanimity it was not, since he had never, upon any occasion, discovered one generous sentiment: perhaps he was deceived by his own political speculations, in the hurry of a confused and tumultuous judgment anticipating future mischief, but not attending to the combination of circumstances, that formed the present crisis. Whatever might be his motive, this man joined the moderate party, and advised the consul to adjourn the debate. He observed, that, in affairs of the greatest moment, the slightest cause often produces events altogether new and unexpected. Grant an interval of time, and the passions of a superannuated emperor may relent. The populace, in the mean time, bearing aloft the images of Nero and Agrippina, surrounded the senate-house. They offered up their prayers for the safety of the emperor, and with one voice pronounced the letter a wicked forgery, fabricated without the knowledge of Tiberius; a black contrivance to ruin the imperial family. The senate came to no resolution.

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When the assembly was adjourned, a number of fictitious speeches, purporting to have been delivered by consular senators, in a strain of bitter invective against Sejanus, were immediately written, and dispersed among the people. In those productions, the several authors, unknown and safe in their obscurity, gave free scope to their talents, and poured forth their virulence with unbounded freedom. The artifice served to exasperate the minister. He charged the fathers with disaffection; "they paid "no attention to the remonstrances of the "prince: the people were ripe for tumult "and insurrections. A new council of state "was set up, and the decrees of that mock "assembly were published with an air of "authority. What now remains for the dis-"contented but to unsheath the sword, and "choose for their leaders, and even proclaim "as emperors, the very persons whose images "had been displayed as the banners of se-"dition and revolt?"

V. Tiberius was fired with indignation. He renewed his complaints against Agrippina and her son, and, in a proclamation, repri-

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manded the licentious spirit of the populace. He complained to the fathers in terms of keen reproach, that the authority of the prince was eluded, and, by the artifice of a single senator, despised and set at nought. He desired that the whole business, unprejudiced by their proceedings, should be reserved for his own decision. The fathers, without further debate, sent dispatches to the emperor, assuring him, that, though they had not pronounced final judgment; having no commission for that purpose, they were, notwithstanding, ready to prove their zeal, and would have inflicted a capital punishment, if the prince himself had not abridged their authority.

SUPPLEMENT *(a)*.

BOOK V. A. U. C. 782. A. D. 29.

1. THE fathers, at all times pliant and obsequious, were, in this juncture, more willing than ever to debase themselves by every act of mean servility. Sejanus knew the inmost secrets of the prince, and the deep resentments that lay concealed, and nourished venom in his heart. Sure of a complying senate, he grew more aspiring, yet not bold enough to strike the decisive blow. His strength had hitherto lain in fraud and covert stratagem, and, having made an experiment of his talents, he resolved to proceed by the same insidious arts. Agrippina continued, with unabating spirit, to counteract his designs; and her two sons, Nero and Drusus, stood fair in the line of succession to the imperial dignity. The ambition of the minister required that all three should be removed. He began with Nero and Agrippina, well assured, that, after their destruction, the impetuous temper of Drusus would lay him open to the assaults of his enemies.

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2. ROME, in the mean time, knew no pause from the rage of prosecutions. During the life of Livia, Tiberius felt some restraint; but, that check removed, he now broke out with redoubled fury. The most intimate friends of his mother *(a)*, particularly those to whom she had recommended the care of her funeral, were devoted to destruction. In that number a man of equestrian rank, and of a distinguished character, was singled out from the rest, and condemned to the hard labour of drawing water *(b)* in a crane. By the disgrace of an infamous punishment, the tyrant meant to spread a general terror. The cruelty of Sejanus kept pace with the exterminating fury of his master. His pride was wounded by the freedom with which the public spoke of his ambitious views. A band of informers was let loose, and by that hireling crew a civil war was waged against the first men in Rome. Spies were stationed in every quarter; the mirth of the gay, the sorrows of the wretched, the joke of innocent simplicity *(c)*, and the wild rambling talk of men in liquor, served to swell the list of constructive crimes. Nothing was safe; no place secure; informers spread terror and desolation through the city, and all ranks were swept away in one common ruin.

3. While by these acts of oppression Rome was made a scene of ruin and dismay, every other part of the empire enjoyed the most *(a)* perfect tranquillity. It was the wish of Tiberius to have no war upon his hands, and with that view, it was his policy to let the provinces feel the mildness of his government. He rewarded merit, but with a sparing hand; to guilt he shewed himself inexorable; the delinquent in a post of trust was sure to be punished with unremitting severity. He dreaded superior merit; and though at Rome virtue was a crime, in the provinces he forgave it. To his choice of general officers and foreign magistrates, no objection could be made; they were men of integrity, though seldom of distinguished talents. The jealousy of his nature would not allow him to employ the most eminent characters: and from mediocrity, though he could not hope for glory, he expected to derive the undisturbed tranquillity of his reign.

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4. Marcus Vinicius and Lucius Cassius Longinus were the next consuls *(a)*. By the management of Tiberius, things were now brought to the crisis, which in his heart he

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had long desired. The fathers had avowed their intention to pass a decree against Nero and Agrippina; but the clemency of the prince was supposed to hold that assembly in suspense. Tiberius, however, no longer hesitated. Sejanus represented to him the danger of irresolution or delay. The time, he said, called for sudden exertion. "The guilty had "thrown off the mask, and from seditious "discourses, proceeded to acts of open re- "bellion. The very senate began to waver; "private views seduced them from their "duty; the integrity of that body was no "longer certain. The soldiers threatened a "revolt, and Nero was already considered as "the head of the empire. Tiberius, indeed, "reigned amidst the rocks of Capreæ; but "Agrippina and her son gave the law at Rome." Inflamed by this reasoning, Tiberius sent a letter to the fathers, in substance declaring "that his mind was on the rack, and various "apprehensions, like an inward fire *(b)*, con- "sumed his peace. He knew by certain intel- "ligence, that Nero and Agrippina had form- "ed a dangerous league; and the storm, if "not prevented, would ere long burst in "ruin on their heads."

5. The senate met in consternation. After a short debate, Agrippina and her son Nero were declared public enemies. This vote no sooner reached the ear of Tiberius, than he sent orders to a party of the prætorian guards to take them both into custody. The unhappy prisoners were loaded with fetters, and conveyed from place to place *(a)* in a close litter, which not a ray of light could penetrate. In this manner they proceeded towards the coast of Campania. A band of soldiers guarded them in their progress through the country. The crowd was every where kept at a distance, and the eye of compassion no where suffered to behold their misery. Agrippina was detained, for some time, in a castle near Herculaneum *(b)*, on the margin of the sea; while Tiberius from his island beheld, with malignant joy, the place where his state-prisoner pined in bitterness of heart. But even that distressful situation could not subdue the spirit of Agrippina. She did not forget that she was the grand-daughter of Augustus, and the widow of Germanicus. Burning with resentment, and by every insult fired with indignation, she launched out with vehemence against the savage cruelty of the em-

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peror. The centurion, who guarded her person, had his private orders; and the ferocity of his nature made him ready to obey. With brutal violence he raised his hand, and at a blow struck *(c)* out one of her eyes. She wished for the hand of death to deliver her from the rage of her enemies. She resolved to die by abstinence; but even that last resource of the wretched was denied to her. Her mouth *(d)* was opened against her will, and victuals were forced down her throat, in order to protract a life of misery. Such was the deep and studied malice of Tiberius: he destroyed numbers in his fury, and at times, with deliberate malice, refused to let others die in peace *(e)*. He kept them imprisoned in life, and made even his mercy the severest vengeance. To see those whom he hated in his heart, streched on the torture of the mind, invoking death, yet forced to linger in slow-consuming pain, was the delight of that implacable, that obdurate mind. With that envenomed malignity he chose to extend the life of Agrippina. She was removed, under the care of a centurion, to the isle of Pandataria, where Julia, her unfortunate mother, closed her life in the last stage of wretched-

ness. By confining the daughter in the same place, he hoped, by a subtle stroke of malice, to load her with the imputation of similar vices, and thereby blacken a character which he saw was purity itself. Agrippina perceived the drift of his inhuman policy, and, no doubt, felt it with anguish of heart. How she endured the barbarity of her enemies for three years afterwards, we have now no means of knowing. Her death will be mentioned in due time and place *(f)*.

Nero was banished to the Isle *(g)* of Pontia, not far from Pandataria. About a year afterwards, the news of his death arrived at Rome, and spread a general face of mourning through the city. The current report was, that a centurion, sent by Tiberius, passed himself for an officer, commissioned by the senate to see immediate execution performed. This man displayed to view his instruments of death, and the young prince, terrified at the sight, put an end to his life. It is said, that, of the three sons of Germanicus, he was the only one, who by his graceful figure, and the elegance of his manners, recalled to the memory of men an image of his father.

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6. Drusus and Caius (surnamed Caligula), as soon as their brother Nero was banished, were considered by Sejanus as the two remaining props of the empire. Drusus stood nearest to the succession, and for that reason was the most obnoxious. Seduced by the arts of Sejanus, and further incited by his own inordinate ambition, that unhappy prince had joined in the conspiracy against his brother Nero; but what he thought would contribute to his elevation, became the fatal cause of his ruin. He had been at an early period of his life contracted to Otho's *(a)* daughter, who was then of tender years; but, without regarding that engagement, he married Æmilia Lepida *(b)*, a woman of illustrious birth, but fatally bent on mischief, and, by her pernicious talents, able to execute the worst designs. Sejanus saw the use to be made of such a character. He had chosen Livia for his instrument to cut off Drusus, the son of Tiberius; and he now resolved, by the same execrable means, to destroy the son of Germanicus. With this design, the grand corrupter in a short time gained the affections of the wife. In the course of his adulterous commerce, he instilled into her heart his own pernicious

venom, and rendered her the implacable enemy of her husband. He promised to join her in the nuptial union, and with ideas of future grandeur so dazzled her imagination, that she undertook the detestable task of carrying to the ear of the emperor an accusation against her husband, who was then attending the court in the Isle of Capreæ.

Instructed by her seducer, and urged on by the ardour of her own libidinous passions, she alarmed Tiberius every day with some new allegation; she renewed, with studied artifice, all that had been imputed to Nero and Agrippina, and in their guilt, with affected reluctance, involved Drusus as an accomplice. She pretended, at the same time, to plead in his behalf. His crimes, she hoped, would admit of some extenuation: but her apology served only to envenom the charge. The emperor consulted with his minister. That artful politician espoused the cause of the young prince; he affected to disbelieve all that was alleged: but the proofs in time were too strong to be resisted; he yielded to the force of truth, still attempting to palliate, but by feeble excuses making the whole appear still more atrocious.

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7. DRUSUS, unheard and undefended, received orders to depart forthwith from the Isle of Capreæ. He arrived at Rome, but not to live there in a state of security. He was pursued by the machinations of Sejanus. That artful and intriguing minister prevailed on Cassius Longinus *(a)*, the consul, to arraign the character and conduct of the young prince, before the assembly of the fathers. Though high in office, this man was base enough to forget his own dignity, and become the infamous tool of a vile and designing favourite. He stated to the senate, "that the young prince, exasperated by his "late disgrace, was pursuing violent mea-"sures; and, in order to cause a sudden re-"volution, was every day endeavouring by "intrigue, by cabal, and popular arts, to in-"crease the number of his partisans." These allegations were, in fact, suborned by Sejanus: but the fathers were persuaded that the whole business originated with the emperor. A vote was accordingly passed, declaring Drusus an enemy to the state. This proceeding was no sooner reported to Tiberius, than he stood astonished at the measure, but his animosity to the house of Germanicus was not to be appeased. He gave orders, by letter to the

senate, that his grandson should be confined a close prisoner in the lower part *(b)* of the palace, with a constant guard over him, to watch his motions, to note his words, and keep a register of every circumstance, to be in time transmitted to Capreæ, for his private inspection. In that wretched condition, Drusus was left to pine in misery, till, about three years afterwards, as will be mentioned in its place *(c)*, he closed his dismal tragedy.

8. Tiberius saw, with inward satisfaction, the family of Germanicus well nigh extinguished. The measures by which their ruin had been accomplished, gratified the malice of his heart: but what motive induced Sejanus to be so active in the business, was a problem, which all his penetration was not able to solve. Did the minister mean to gratify the wishes of his sovereign? or was his own private ambition at the bottom? Tiberius was thrown into a state of perplexity. His jealousy took the alarm. From that moment he resolved to keep a watchful eye *(a)* on the conduct of the minister. His keen discernment and systematic dissimulation were, perhaps, never so remarkable in any period of his life. He began to nourish suspicion;

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and, in a mind like his, suspicion was sure never to work in vain. In the memoirs *(b)* of his own life, which were found after his death, it appears that the first cause, that brought on the ruin of the favourite, was his eagerness to destroy the sons of Germanicus.

9. MEANWHILE, Sejanus grew intoxicated with his good fortune: he saw the imperial dignity tottering on the head of an aged prince, and not likely to be better supported by Caligula, a young man as yet unequal to the cares of empire. He thought himself near the summit of his ambition: but to ensure success, he resolved to plan his measures with care and circumspection. He addressed the prince in the style of a man, who had no private views, no motive but the interest of his sovereign. Tiberius knew that his professions were false and hollow. He resolved, however, to retaliate with the same insidious arts. He called Sejanus his best friend: the faithful minister, by whose vigilance the public peace was secured, and the glory of the empire *(a)* maintained in its highest lustre. Not content with bestowing on him the warmest commendations, he added that the man, who rendered such eminent

services to the state, ought to be, at least, the second in rank and dignity.

10. The minister, in consequence of this exaggerated praise, became the idol of the people. The fathers passed several votes in his favour, and sent their deputies to the Isle of Capreæ, with addresses of congratulation *(a)*. In the forum, in the temples, and in private houses, statues were erected to Sejanus. His birth-day was celebrated with religious ceremonies. The altars smoked with incense, and the city resounded with his praise. Men swore by the fortune of Tiberius and his faithful friend. Sejanus shared in all public honours with the emperor. Applauded by the senate, and adored by the multitude, he was now scarce inferior to his master.

11. It was in this juncture that Velleius Paterculus *(a)* published his Epitome of Roman Affairs, from the foundation of the city down to his own times. The work is dedicated to Vinicius, one of the consuls for the year. It is to be regretted that a writer of so fine a genius was thrown on that evil period,

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in which the Romans, formerly fierce with all the pride, and, perhaps, the excess of liberty, were fallen into the opposite extreme of abject slavery. The spirit of adulation debased the human character. This elegant author caught the infection of the times. He saw the senators, men of consular rank, the most illustrious of the Roman knights, and, in short, a whole people, prostrate at the feet of Tiberius and his favourite. He was carried away by the current, and hence we find him representing the Roman glory, that work of ages, and that toil of patriots, warriors, and legislators, resting at length upon an emperor, who lived in voluntary exile, and a minister, who had all the vices, without the talents, of his master. The panegyric bestowed upon two such characters has survived the wreck of time; but it has survived, to be the disgrace of the author; a monument of venal praise and servile flattery. The beauty of the composition, and the graces of the style, are the work of a rhetorician, in whose hands history forgot her genuine character, and truth has been degraded. Paterculus stands at the head of those, who have been willing to list in the

service of corruption; and, though the taste of the writer will not easily find a rival, the abject spirit of the man will be sure of having, in every age and country, a herd of imitators, as long as the leaders of party and faction shall wish to see their ambition disguised, and their vices decorated with the colours and the garb of virtue.

12. That Paterculus threw a temporary lustre round the name of his patron, there can be no room to doubt, since the varnish so well laid on, almost deceives us at the present hour. But Sejanus found a more powerful support in his two friends *(a)*, Asinius Gallus and Lentulus Gætulicus. The former, being, as has been mentioned, on bad terms with Tiberius, was the more ready to list in the faction of Sejanus. He became the zealous partisan of the minister, and drew to his interest the leading members of the senate. Gætulicus was, at this time, appointed to the command of the legions in the Upper Germany. He owed this promotion to the influence of Sejanus, to whose son he had offered his daughter in marriage. This he knew would cement a closer union between him and his patron; and the patron, in the

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mean time, was not blind to the advantages which he himself might derive from that alliance. Lucius Apronius, the uncle of Gætulicus, was at the head of the army on the Lower Rhine; and, by forming a connection with that family, Sejanus saw that, in fact, he should have eight legions at his beck. This was a prospect that flattered his hopes, and gave new ardour to that spirit of enterprise, which now began to hurry him on to the consummation of his wishes. Honours, dignities, all employments and places of trust, were granted at his will and pleasure, and to none but men ready to co-operate in his worst designs. The minister, thus supported, stood but one remove from the sovereign power; but his elevation placed him on the edge of a precipice, from which his fall would inevitably be sudden and terrible.

13. Tiberius, in the mean time, was ever on the watch. He observed all that passed with acute, but silent attention. Bending under the weight of years, and still a slave to his lewd desires, he was anxious to preserve his power to the last. With this view he continued to act with his usual policy; in ap-

pearance resigned to indolence, yet making use of his vices to shade his secret purposes. His whole attention was fixed on the conduct of Sejanus. The alliance projected between the minister and Gætulicus *(a)*, who filled a post of such importance, alarmed his fears. The active zeal of Asinius Gallus was another cause of suspicion. He resolved to remove a man of so much weight, and, having formed that deep design, he soon seized his opportunity to carry it into execution.

14. Asinius Gallus, still persisting to exert himself in the interest of Sejanus, made a florid speech in the senate, concluding with a string of new honours to be decreed to the favourite. The motion succeeded to his wishes. He *(a)* was deputed by the fathers to know the emperor's pleasure. During his stay at the Isle of Capreæ, Tiberius sent a letter to the senate, representing him as a disturber of the public peace, and in direct terms requiring that he should be forthwith secured in the house of one of the consuls. The fathers knew that delay on their part would be considered as a crime. Having offended in the case of Agrippina, and not

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daring to provoke resentment a second time, they obeyed without hesitation. A prætor was dispatched to the Isle of Capreæ, to take charge of the prisoner. Asinius, in the mean time, was ignorant of all that passed at Rome. He was well received by the emperor, a constant guest at his table, and a sharer in all his pleasures. In the gaiety of a sócial hour he was informed of the judgment pronounced against him by the senate. The first emotions of surprise overpowered his reason. In order to secure, by a voluntary death, his fortune for his children, he endeavoured to lay violent hands on himself. Tiberius dissuaded him from his purpose, giving him at the same time strong assurances that he might sáfely rely on the protection of the prince and the favour of Sejanus. Asinius yielded to that advice. He was conveyed to Rome under a guard, and there, without being heard in his defence, thrown into close confinement, shut up from the sight of his friends, and debarred from all food, except what was necessary to prolong his life. His friend Syriacus *(b)*, a man distinguished by his talents and his eloquence, met with a gentler punishment. His intimacy

with Asinius was his only crime, and for that he was put to instant death; happy to escape from the power of a tyrant, who, by a refinement in cruelty, made life itself the worst torture he could inflict.

15. SEJANUS was now persuaded that the sovereign power was within his grasp. Dazzled by that glittering scene, he did not perceive that the ruin of Asinius was a blow aimed at himself. Tiberius still continued to watch the motions of the minister, weighing every circumstance, and brooding in silence over his own designs. He conversed in private with Sejanus; he perused his countenance; he explored his secret thoughts, and from what he saw and heard drew his own conclusions. A penetrating observer of mankind, he knew that prosperity is the surest discoverer of the human heart. He resolved, therefore, to ply Sejanus with marks of the warmest affection; he lavished his favours on him with unbounded generosity; he praised his unremitting labours in the service of his prince; and, to put him off his guard, determined to overwhelm him with a load of grandeur. The marriage with Livia *(a)*, the widow of his

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son Drusus, which he had formerly rejected, he knew would intoxicate the vanity of the ambitious minister. With that view he gave his consent to the match, resolved by acts of kindness to prove the secrets of the heart. Tiberius did not stop here. He was aware that Sejanus, while he remained at Capreæ, would act with circumspection; but, if removed to a distance, would most probably drop the mask. In a solitary island the favourite had every thing in his power; the prætorian guards, stationed on the spot, were under his command, and all dispatches to the prince passed through their hands. Sejanus was, by consequence, master of every thing. He could suppress or deliver what he thought proper. The court was filled with his creatures, all of them spies upon the actions of the prince, and all devoted to the minister.

16. Tiberius felt these disadvantages, and accordingly devised an artful plan to free himself from the embarrassment. Under colour of doing honour to his friend, but, in truth, to remove him from his presence, he proposed to make him joint consul with himself. The functions of that high office,

he well knew, would require the constant residence of the magistrate at a distance from Capreæ; and the emperor from his solitary rock, as from a watch tower, might superintend all his measures. There was besides another advantage, of the first consequence to Tiberius. While the consul passed his whole time at Rome, the prætorian guards would be weaned from their former master, and, if necessary, Macro might be dispatched to undertake the command, under a plausible promise to resign, whenever the minister should be at leisure from the duties of his magistracy, to resume his station. Macro approved of this new arrangement. With the true spirit of a court sycophant, wishing for an opportunity to creep into favour, he professed himself devoted to the service of his prince, while, in fact, he was determined, by every sinister art, to supplant a proud and domineering favourite.

BOOK V. A. U. C. 788. A. D. 30.

17. Sejanus, amidst all the dignities so liberally heaped upon him, little suspected an underplot to work his ruin. He continued, with every mark of a fawning spirit, to ingratiate himself with the emperor; he

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was the sóle fountain of court favour; he looked down with contempt upon the young Caligula; and of the twin-born sons of Drusus, the one, who still survived, was too young to alarm his jealousy. He received the homage of his creatures; he distributed presents with magnificence, and still took care to keep the prince immersed in luxury. Tiberius saw, with inward pleasure, the towering spirit of the consul elect. Increasing honours, he had no doubt, would unprovide his mind, and, in a short time, produce the genuine features of his character.

A. U. C. 784. A. D. 31.

18. We enter now upon the fifth consulship of Tiberius, with Sejanus for his colleague. While the emperor remained in his solitary island *(a)*, Sejanus made his entry into Rome, with the pomp of a sovereign prince taking possession of his dominions. The streets resounded with peals of joy. The senators, the Roman knights, all ranks of men pressed round the new consul with their congratulations. His house was crowded, his gates were besieged, and all were eager to pay their court. They knew the jealousy of a man raised to sudden elevation; they dreaded

the danger of neglect or inattention; and all were willing to crawl in servitude. The prevailing opinion was, that Tiberius, worn out with age, and no longer equal to a weight of cares, would, for the remainder of his days, resign himself to his usual pleasures, content with the shadow of imperial grandeur, while the administration went on in his name, though conducted by his favourite. Tiberius seemed no more than the lord of an island, while Sejanus was considered as the vicegerent of the emperor, the actual governor of the Roman world. In this persuasion all bowed down before him; they depended on his smiles; they approached his presence with a degree of respect little short of adoration; his statues were set up in every quarter; curule chairs were decorated with gold; victims were slain, and, in the honours offered to the minister, the prince was only mentioned for the sake of form, in conformity to established usage. Religious worship was not yet offered to the ambitious magistrate; but the men, who blushed to go to that extreme, fell prostrate before his statues, and there poured forth their impious vows.

19. Tiberius had regular intelligence of all that passed; but the time was not arrived,

BOOK V. A. U. C. 784. A. D. 31.

when the secrets of that dark designing mind were to transpire. He lay in wait for further particulars. In the mean time, he addressed himself to Lucius Piso *(a)*, a man descended from a father of censorian rank, who possessed the happy art of knowing how to avoid the extremes of liberty and mean submission. Acting always with temper and with wisdom, he had recommended himself to the esteem and favour of Tiberius. He could mix in scenes of luxury, and yet retain his virtue. Being præfect of Rome, he was, by consequence, a confidential minister, entrusted with all the secrets of the court. Tiberius requested him, as a proof of his fidelity, to take careful notice of all that passed in the city, and to transmit to Capreæ an exact account of the proceedings in the senate, the language of the Roman knights, the discontents and clamours of the populace, and, above all, the cabals, intrigues, and every action of the consul. Wishing still to deceive by fair appearances, he took care, in his letters to the senate, to make honourable mention of Sejanus, styling him, on all occasions, the prop and guardian of the empire; his associate in the administration; his dear, his well-beloved Sejanus.

20. Encouraged by these marks of favour, the new consul, to make his authority felt, resolved to let fall the weight of his power on all, who scorned to bend before him with abject humility. He began with Germinius Rufus *(a)* on a charge of violated majesty. Rufus appeared before the senate. His defence was short, but delivered with magnanimity. "The man," he said, "who "stands accused of being an enemy to the "prince, has by his will made that very "prince equal heir with his own children." Having uttered these words, he laid the will on the table, and withdrew to his own house. A quæstor followed to acquaint him with the sentence of the fathers. Rufus no sooner saw the messenger, than he drew his sword, and, plunging it in his breast, "Behold," he said, "how a man of honour can die: go, and re-"port what you have seen to the senate." He spoke, and breathed his last. Prisca his wife was involved in the prosecution. She appeared before the fathers, determined to emulate the example of her husband. They began to interrogate her: in that instant she drew a dagger, which she had concealed under her robe, and giving herself a mortal stab, expired on the spot.

BOOK V. A. U. C. 784. A. D. 31.

21. While Sejanus, to gratify his vengeance, laid waste the city of Rome, Tiberius looked on with calm indifference. The destruction of men obnoxious for their virtue, gratified his natural cruelty; and the public detestation, he was sure, would in the end fall on the minister. The senate, in the mean time, went on in a style of abject submission. Flattery was well nigh exhausted; but the members of that assembly were determined to rack their invention for new proofs of sordid meanness. They lamented that the dignity of the consulship was lessened by the shortness of its duration, and therefore voted that Tiberius and his colleague should continue *(a)* in office for the space of five years. Sejanus was now at the pinnacle of his wishes. He saw the emperor near the verge of life, and, sure of enjoying the consular authority after the death of his master, he made no doubt of succeeding to the sovereign power.

22. In due time the decree for extending the consulship to a longer term was communicated to Tiberius. Nothing could be more opposite to his intention. He was willing to let Sejanus, by his acts of cruelty, provoke the ill will of the people; but to prolong his

power was no part of his plan. He expressed his dislike of the measure, but in terms of gentle reproof, determined neither to discover his hidden purposes, nor to irritate the pride of his colleague by an abrupt refusal. He observed to the senate, "that their late "decree was an infringement of the constitution. It had been the wisdom of the "fathers to declare, that the consulship "should not, of necessity, last an entire "year. By making it a quinquennial office, "they would withhold from men of eminence "the reward due to their public services, "and the provinces would be deprived of "able governors. It was for the wisdom of "the senate to consider, not what would do "honour to the prince and his dearly be-"loved colleague, but what would be most "conducive to the happiness and good order "of the empire. That, and that only, was "the object which he and Sejanus had nearest "to their hearts; and, in comparison with "that great object, they disregarded public "honours." He dispatched at the same time, a private letter to Sejanus, advising him to abdicate his office; and, to induce him to it by his own example, he sent a letter of re-

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signation. Sejanus felt the disappointment. Unwilling, however, to make known the wound which his pride had suffered, he complied with the emperor's directions, and, about the middle of May, went out of office, soon to have a more dreadful fall.

23. On the seventh of the ides of May, Cornelius Sylla and Sexteidius Catullinus *(a)* succeeded to the consulship. They were appointed for three months. Tiberius continued to manage appearances, still mysterious, close, and impenetrable. Sejanus, on his part, was not free from anxiety. He saw a change in the affections of the emperor, and, for that reason, wished to revisit Capreæ. In the solitude of that place he had no doubt but he could again wind himself into favour, or, if necessary, he could there, with better advantage, pursue the road of his ambition. His ostensible reasons for desiring to return were, the ill health of Livia, who required a change of air; and, after a long separation, his own earnest wish to have an interview with his sovereign. Tiberius was not to be deceived. He returned for answer, that he also languished for a sight

of his friend; but the service of the state required that so able a minister should remain at Rome. He intended shortly to visit the capital, and should there embrace Sejanus. In his letters to the senate he had the art to blend hints of dislike with marks of affection; and, though still equivocal, he gave some reason to think, that he was weaning himself from his favourite. He mentioned him slightly, or hinted some exception, and occasionally passed him by in silence. He talked of himself as a superannuated prince, worn out with infirmities, and near his end. In his next letters he was perfectly recovered, and on the point of setting out for Rome. The people were the dupes of his fallacy, while he remained fixed in his retreat, content to reign in solitary grandeur.

24. Tiberius thought it time to unmask another battery against Sejanus. He had invited the young Caligula *(a)* to his court, and, having made him put on the manly gown, he desired that the senate would invest him with the dignities of augur and pontiff, both vacant by the banishment of his brother Nero. Of Claudius *(b)* (afterward emperor) he took

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no notice. That prince had never been adopted into the Cæsarean family. He lived at Rome neglected and despised by the court of Tiberius. Antonia, his mother, used to say, that nature began to mould him, but had not finished her work. Perception and memory were faculties which he did not want; but judgment and elocution were withheld from him. In his private studies he made considerable acquisitions in literature; but in public he lost his recollection, and with it the power of thinking. When under the operation of fear, he seemed torpid and insensible; and sudden fear continued to haunt him in every stage of life, and even on the throne. No wonder that Tiberius held him in no kind of estimation; but the honours conferred upon Caligula, he knew, would prove a mortal stab to the ambition of Sejanus. Still, however, to amuse the favourite with delusive hopes, he required a grant from the senate of two more pontificates, one for Sejanus, and the other for his eldest son. By this ambiguous conduct the people of Rome were held in suspense. Whether they were to expect an account of the emperor's death, or in a short time to see him in the

city, was a point not to be ascertained. Meanwhile, the senate, ever prone to flattery, passed a vote, investing Sejanus with the title of proconsul, and at the same time declaring his conduct in his magistracy a mode for the imitation of all future consuls.

25. SEJANUS began to fluctuate between hope and fear; but the senate shewing still the same obsequious behaviour, he flattered himself that he should be able to reach the summit of his ambition. Religious worship continued to be offered to him. It is said, that he assisted in person at the celebration of the rites, at once the god and the priest of his own altar. Tiberius knew the effect of superstition on the public mind. To deprive Sejanus of that advantage, he wrote to the senate, complaining, that, in direct opposition to the principles of religion and to common sense, the worship due to the gods alone *(a)* was impiously transferred to mortal man. He ordered that no such honours should be paid to himself, and, by consequence, left Sejanus exposed to the contempt and derision of the people.

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26. At Rome it was now understood that the emperor was alienated from the man, who had been raised to such a height of power and grandeur. Sejanus began to open his eyes, and to see at length a reverse of fortune. He found that he had been the bubble of a politic prince, who had been, during his whole life, exercised in the arts of dissimulation, and was grown a perfect master in the arts of deceit and cruelty. The young Caligula was, in appearance, high in favour with his grandfather, and the hearts of the people were at all times ready to espouse the family of Germanicus. The disappointed minister saw, too late, the want of resolution which restrained him, during his consulship, when the whole power of the state was in his own hands. In the arts of fraud he saw that he was no match for a systematic politician, who planned his measures in the gloom of solitude, and never let his counsels transpire, till in one and the same instant they were known and felt. Sejanus resolved to retrieve his loss, and by one vigorous effort to decide the fate of empire. He called together his friends and followers; he paid court to such as seemed disaffected; he held

forth rewards and promises, and, having increased the number of his partisans, formed a bold conspiracy *(a)*, resolved by any means to seize the sovereign power.

27. A POWERFUL league was formed with astonishing rapidity, and great numbers of all descriptions, senators as well as military men, entered into the plot. Among these Satrius Secundus was the confidential friend and prime agent of the minister. We have seen this man let loose by Sejanus *(a)* against the life of Cremutius Cordus, and now we are to see him, with the arts in which he had been trained, employed against his master. Whatever was his motive, whether fear, or views of interest or ingratitude (for no principle of honour can be imputed to him), he resolved to betray the secret to Tiberius. For this purpose he addressed himself to Antonia, the daughter of Antony the triumvir, the widow of Drusus, and the mother of Germanicus. The character of this illustrious woman was honoured by the court, and revered by the people. She lost her husband in the prime of life, when she had

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still the attractions of youth and beauty; and, though Augustus proposed to her several advantageous matches, she remained faithful to her first vows, and declined every overture. Her dignity was free from pride; she had virtue without ostentation, and an elevation of mind without the ambition and haughty spirit of Agrippina her daughter-in-law. She saw her grand-children cut off by the wicked arts of Sejanus, and in silent grief lamented the downfal of her family. When Nero was banished to the isle of Pontia, and Drusus lay confined in a dungeon, she took Caligula their brother under her protection, and hoped that her house would prove a sanctuary for the last surviving issue of Germanicus. Her conduct gave no umbrage to Tiberius. He respected her character, and, perhaps for that reason, was inclined, at last, to shew some favour to Caligula.

Satrius, the conspirator, had no avenues of approach to Tiberius. He therefore made his advances to Antonia, concluding, that, by a stroke of perfidy, he might promote his in-

terest in that quarter. His design was no sooner conceived than executed. He gained access to Antonia, and made a full discovery of the whole conspiracy. That prudent woman heard the particulars, and, without delay, sent dispatches to the emperor by one of her slaves, whose name was Pallas *(b)*: the same who afterwards figured in a higher character, under the emperor Claudius.

28. Tiberius was astonished, but not dismayed. The danger pressed; his habitual slowness was out of season; the time called for vigour and decisive measures. He sent Macro to Rome, with a special commission to take upon him the command of the prætorian guards. He added full instructions for his conduct in all emergencies. If he found that Sejanus and his party were able to stir up an insurrection, he desired that Drusus *(a)* should be led forth from his confinement, and presented to the people as their leader. The son of Germanicus, he was aware, would triumph over an obscure native of Vulsinii. In the mean time, Tiberius was determined to be prepared for all possible events. He ordered the fleet, that lay at

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Misenum, to assemble at the isle of Capreæ, with intent, if any disaster happened, to sail to some distant coast, and put himself at the head of such of the legions as still remained faithful to their prince. In order to obtain the quickest intelligence, he ordered signals *(b)* to be disposed along the sea-shore, on the whole way from Surrentum to Rome.

29. The consuls at this time were Memmius Regulus and Fulcinius Trio, both appointed to fill the office from the middle of August to the end of the year. Trio had rendered himself infamous by the prosecution of Libo: he was besides known to be the tool and creature of Sejanus. Regulus was of a different mould, from his upright conduct deriving great consequence, and, at that time, much esteemed by Tiberius. The prætorian bands, as already stated, were under the influence of Sejanus. With the cohorts, that formed the city guard, the case was different. Subject to the controul of Piso, who was then præfect of Rome, they had no connection with the minister. Under Piso, Græcinus Laco was their commanding officer; a man distinguished by his military talents and his firm integrity. In this posture

of affairs, Macro *(a)* arrived from Capreæ. He entered the city in a private manner, after the close of day, and went directly to Regulus the consul. He communicated the emperor's orders. Laco was called to the meeting. They consulted together, and settled their plan of operations for the following day. Tiberius, in this interval of suspense, took his station on the sharp point of a rock, surveying the deep that rolled beneath, and with an anxious eye gazing at the opposite shore for the earliest intelligence.

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30. The fatal day arrived, namely, the fifteenth before the calends of November. Early in the morning, by order of Regulus, a report was spread, that letters were arrived at Rome, in which the emperor signified his intention to associate Sejanus with himself in the tribunitian power. The senate was summoned to meet in the temple of Apollo, near the imperial palace. Sejanus attended without delay. A party of the prætorians followed him. Macro met him in the vestibule of the temple. He approached the minister with all demonstrations of profound respect, and taking him aside, "Be not surprised," he said, "that you have no letter from the

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" prince : it is his pleasure to declare you his " colleague in the tribunitian power ; but he " thinks that a matter of so much import- " ance should be communicated to the fa- " thers by the voice of the consuls. I am " going to deliver the emperor's orders." Sejanus, elate with joy, and flushed with his new dignity, entered the senate-house. Macro followed him. As soon as the consuls arrived, he delivered the letter from Tiberius, and immediately went forth to the prætorian guards. He informed them, that, by order of the prince, a large donative was to be distributed among the soldiers. He added, that, by a new commission, he himself was appointed their commanding officer, and, if they followed him to the camp, they would there receive the promised bounty. The lure was not thrown out in vain ; the prætorian guards quitted their station. Laco, who stood near at hand, immediately surrounded the senate-house with a body of the city cohorts.

31. The letter to the consuls was confused, embarrassed, and with studied art drawn into length, in order to keep the minds of the fathers in suspense, while Macro gained time to execute what had been concerted. Regulus

read the letter *(a)*; it began with general observations, expatiating at large on the state of the empire: a short expression glanced at Sejanus; new matter followed; and then, winding round with art, hints were thrown out against the minister, in a perplexed style, vague, and ambiguous. It went on in the same obscure manner, intermixing things wholly unconnected, but at each return more pointed against Sejanus, till at last the language of open invective left no room for doubt. The fathers were covered with astonishment. The change of men's minds, in the vicissitudes of human affairs, was never more remarkable. Those, who a little time before congratulated Sejanus on his new dignities, began to shun him as they would a contagion. The conclusion of the letter was like a stroke of thunder. The emperor ordered two senators *(b)*, who had joined in the conspiracy, to be put to death, and Sejanus to be thrown into prison. He signified, at the same time, his intention to return to Rome, and, for that purpose, desired that one of the consuls should be sent with a military guard as far as Capreæ, in order to conduct an infirm old man in safety to the capital.

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32. SEJANUS kept his seat like a man benumbed, senseless, stupid with amazement. His friends deserted him on every side. He remained in confusion, pale and trembling, left in solitude, till the prætors and tribunes of the people gathered round him. Regulus called to him, "Rise, Sejanus, and follow "me." The ruined favourite looked like a statue of Despair. He gazed, but understood nothing; he remained torpid, motionless, as if he had lost the faculty of hearing. The consul raised his arm, and, in a tone of menace, repeated his words no less than three times. Sejanus rose in consternation. The door of the senate-house was thrown open; Græcinus Laco entered, and secured his prisoner. Regulus did not think it prudent to put the question to the assembly; but, contenting himself with the voice of a single senator, ordered Sejanus to be loaded with irons, and in that condition, at the head of a numerous body of magistrates, conducted him to prison.

33. THE downfal of Sejanus filled the city with exultation. The populace, who worshipped him in the hour of prosperity, rejoiced

to see the sad catastrophe to which he was now reduced. They followed in crowds, rending the air with shouts, and pouring forth a torrent of abuse and scurrilous language. The prisoner endeavoured to hide his face: but the mob delighted to see remorse and shame, and guilt and horror, in every feature of that distracted countenance. They reviled him for his acts of cruelty; they laughed at his wild ambition; they tore down his images, and dashed his statues *(a)* to pieces. He was doomed by Tiberius to suffer death on that very day; but, as he had a powerful faction in the senate, it was not thought adviseable, for the mere formality of a regular condemnation, to hazard a debate. Private orders were given to Macro to dispatch him without delay; but the consul, seeing the dispositions of the people, and the calm neutrality of the prætorian guards, judged it best to re-assemble the fathers. They met in the temple of Concord. With one voice Sejanus was condemned to die, and the sentence was executed without delay. He was strangled in the prison. His body was dragged to the Gemoniæ, and, after every species of insult from the populace, at the end of three days

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was thrown into the Tiber *(b)*. Such was the tragic end of that ambitious favourite. He fell a terrible example to all, who, in any age or country, may hereafter endeavour by their vices to rise above their fellow citizens.

34. The execration, with which the populace treated the ruined minister, was perhaps nothing more than the variable humour of a giddy multitude *(a)*. In the zenith of his power Sejanus met with obsequious servility from all orders of men; and, had he continued to flourish in prosperity, there is too much reason to infer from the temper of the times, that the same debasement of the human character would have continued. The senate followed the example of the people. They passed a decree, by which "it was declared "unlawful to wear mourning apparel for the "deceased minister; his name was ordered to "be erased out of the calendar, and all public "registers; the statue of Liberty was to be "erected in the forum: a day of public re-"joicing was appointed, and the anniversary "of his execution was to be celebrated with "solemn games and public spectacles, to be "exhibited by the sacerdotal college and the

" sodality of Augustan priests." The fathers went still farther: that the state might never again be deemed a prey for the enterprising genius of every worthless upstart, it was declared, " that for the future, no Roman citi- " zen should be invested with extravagant " honours, and that public oaths should ne- " ver be sworn upon any name but that of " the emperor." BOOK V. A. U. C. 784. A. D. 31.

35. It is fatally too true, that, when the public mind has been debased by shame and servitude, the genuine tone of liberty, and the firmness of an independent spirit, are not easily recovered. That very senate, which, in the late decree, had shewn some signs of life, was, notwithstanding, dead to all sense of public virtue. Adulation and time-serving flattery were grown inveterate. New honours *(a)* were to be invented for a prince, who deserted his post, and left the seat of empire, to hide himself from the world, the lord of a barren island, the shadow of an emperor. It was, however, decreed, that he should be styled " the father of his country, and that his " birth-day should be celebrated with eques- " trian games, and other demonstrations of " joy." Macro and Græcinus Laco were con-

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sidered as men, who deserved to stand high in the estimation of the emperor. Flattery, therefore, was to prepare her incense for those exalted characters. Besides a large sum of money, to be paid, as a reward for their services, out of the public treasury, the ensigns of prætorian dignity were granted to Macro, and the quæstorian rank to Laco. The former was also complimented with a seat in the theatre among the senators, and the honour of wearing a robe bordered with purple, at the celebration of the votive games. In this manner, after the downfal of one favourite, two new ones were to mount the scene. But, from the late event, those officers had learned a lesson of prudence: they declined the honours so lavishly bestowed upon them.

36. MEANWHILE, Tiberius was apprised of all that passed at Rome. From the jutting eminence of a sharp-pointed rock he had seen the signals along the coast, and special messengers had been sent to give him the earliest information. Rome, in the mean time, was a scene of tumult and wild commotion. The prætorian guards beheld with a jealous eye the preference given to the city cohorts. En-

raged to find that no confidence was reposed in themselves, the whole corps rushed, with licentious fury, into the city, and there bore down all before them, committing depredations in every quarter, and levelling houses to the ground. The populace were no less inflamed against the creatures of Sejanus. They seized on all who had been instruments of his cruelty, and, executing the summary justice of an enraged multitude, glutted their thirst of blood. Tiberius wrote to the magistrates, in the strongest terms, requiring them to quell all insurrections, and restore the public peace. The fate of Sejanus filled him with emotions of joy too strong to be concealed; but in all other matters nothing could lay open the secret workings of that involved and gloomy spirit. He was never at any time more abstruse, dark, and unintelligible. He refused to see the deputies sent by the senate; he rejected the honours which had been decreed to him; and even Memmius Regulus, the consul, who had served him so faithfully, was not admitted to his presence: hating the commerce of mankind, he retired, with a sullen spirit, to one of his mansions, called the Villa of Jupiter

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(a), and there continued ruminating in solitude for several months.

37. The deputies of the senate returned to Rome, but with no pleasing account of their expedition. The behaviour of the prince was a mystery, which no man could explain. The fathers, however, concluded, that to satisfy the vengeance of the emperor, more work remained on their hands. The friends, relations, and followers of Sejanus, were ordered into custody. His uncle, Junius Blæsus, was put to death. The charge against him cannot now be stated: but he was a man of eminence, who to consummate military talents united great political wisdom: in the eyes of Tiberius, that was a sufficient crime. The eldest son of Sejanus, though too young to be engaged in his father's plot, was also doomed a sacrifice. Apicata (a), who, as already mentioned, had been repudiated by Sejanus, was not condemned by the senate; but the sight of her son's body, thrown into the common charnel, made life a load no longer to be endured. She drew up a memorial, containing a full detail of the wicked arts, with which her husband and the younger

Livia brought Drusus, the emperor's son, to an untimely death. Having finished her account of that black transaction, she sent it by a trusty messenger to the isle of Capreæ, and put a period to her days.

38. TIBERIUS was still in his villa, sequestered from the eyes of mankind; but the detection of that horrible murder roused him from his lethargy. He had till then believed that Drusus died of a disorder occasioned by his own intemperance: but being at length acquainted with that scene of villainy, he sent dispatches to the senate, demanding vengeance on all who were any way concerned in the murder of his son. Eudemus, the physician *(a)*, and Lygdus, the eunuch, were put to the rack, and with their dying breath confessed all the particulars of that horrible tragedy. Livia, the widow of Drusus, was taken into custody. According to some historians, Tiberius gave her up to her mother, Antonia *(b)*; and that good woman, who thought it of the essence of virtue, that guilt of so black a dye should not remain unpunished, left her to die by famine. But this account does not seem worthy of credit. In

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the case of a murdered son, why should Tiberius, a man by nature harsh and vindictive, hesitate to execute the stroke of justice on a woman of so abandoned a character? It is certain that he passed several days in close enquiry into all the circumstances of that transaction; and when the fact was proved beyond the possibility of a doubt; when the emperor saw his own immediate issue, the only one of his family, for whom he retained a spark of affection, snatched away by the treachery of an unnatural mother; can it be supposed that he felt any compassion for the person, who imbrued her hands in the blood of her husband, and was, besides, the sister of Germanicus?

39. LIVIA, the vile accomplice of Sejanus, was brought to condign punishment; and, after duly weighing the testimony of writers who lived near the time, it may be assumed as an historical fact, that she suffered by the order of Tiberius. The man, who in the Isle of Rhodes gave strong indications of his innate cruelty, and, at that early period, was called, by his rhetorical preceptor, "a composition "of mud *(a)* mixed with blood;" who be-

came, in time, so hardened by repeated murders, as to set no kind of value on the lives of the most upright citizens, was not likely to feel the smallest touch of compunction, when revenge was prompted to strike the blow, which justice warranted. It is well known, that, in talking of the lot of Priam, he gave it as his opinion, that the Asiatic prince did not know how to form a true estimate of human felicity. Priam's happiness, he said, consisted in the rare event of having *(b)* survived all his race. Tiberius was living fast to enjoy that portion of worldly bliss. Drusus, the son of Germanicus, languished in a dungeon, condemned never again to see the light of the sun; and if Caligula was to be spared, it was for the reason given by Tiberius himself, who used to say, "I suffer "that son of Germanicus to live, that he "may be, in time, a public calamity, and the "fatal author of his own destruction *(c)*. In "him I nourish a serpent for the people of "Rome, and another Phaeton for the world "at large."

40. It will not be unfit to mention, in this place, a few instances of that savage cruelty, which the tyrant practised in his lone retreat;

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and which, though well authenticated, cannot now be referred to any particular year. The place of execution *(a)*, where so many unhappy wretches died in misery, is still shewn amidst the rocks of Capreæ. It stood on a jutting eminence; and from that fatal spot all who incurred his displeasure were, after enduring the most exquisite torments, thrown headlong into the sea, where a crew of mariners waited to receive them, with orders, that no spark of life might remain unextinguished, to break their limbs, and crush their mangled bodies.

Besides a number of his old friends and confidential inmates, whom he retained near his person, he drew from Rome no less than twenty *(b)* of the most eminent citizens, to be his chief advisers and to form his cabinet-council. Of these chosen favourites, if we except two or three at most, the whole number was, for different reasons, put to death. Sejanus was the most distinguished victim; a man taken into favour, at first perhaps with personal regard, and motives of real friendship; but, as there is now room to think, continued in office for political reasons. By rais-

ing this man to the summit of power, and styling him his associate in the administration, Tiberius, probably, meant to throw the odium of his worst and most oppressive deeds on the favourite minister: with his assistance, perhaps, he thought that the hated house of Germanicus would be more easily crushed, and, in consequence of that measure, that the succession to the imperial dignity might be secured for the surviving issue of his son Drusus. That point accomplished, a politic and designing prince, like Tiberius, would not be at a loss how to discard, or even ruin the minister, who had conducted his pernicious measures to the end desired. It is highly probable, that, when he conferred the greatest honours on Sejanus, he had even then planned his destruction. While he raised the superstructure, he was secretly employed in sapping the foundation. Such was the genius of Tiberius: by nature subtle, dark, designing, and always mysterious, he had exercised his talents in the school of politics, and became, by constant practice, the great master of craft and dissimulation. What he could do by an act of power, he chose rather to accomplish by the crooked means

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of deceit and stratagem. There never occurred a juncture, in which he was not able to overwhelm Sejanus, by barely signifying his will and pleasure. An obsequious senate was ready either to pay homage to the favourite, or at a blow to dispatch the man, whom they beheld with envy and secret detestation. The charge against Sejanus was no sooner opened, than the fathers, without further enquiry, pronounced his final doom. The event shewed the nature of that assembly.

41. In all cases of importance, when either a real delinquent was to be brought to justice, or an eminent citizen was to suffer for his talents and his virtue, we have seen that Tiberius affected still to preserve the forms of a regular constitution, and to consider the senate as the supreme court of judicature. From the decision of the fathers he hoped to borrow some degree of sanction to colour the violence of his own proceedings. This policy, however, was confined to persons of high consideration in the state. In his solitary island he committed petty murders without remorse, or ceremony. He had ordered a person, whom he suspected as an ac-

complice in the destruction of his son Drusus, to attend his presence in the isle of Capreæ; and it happened that he had invited, at the same time, a friend from Rhodes, on a visit of pleasure. The friend arrived first, and no sooner set his foot on shore than he was seized by the guards, and as a delinquent hurried away, and put to the rack. Tiberius *(a)* heard of the mistake, but was no otherwise moved, than to say, with calm composure: "Since you have begun with "him, you may finish your work, and put "the man out of his pain." Upon another occasion, when a funeral was passing by, a person of some pleasantry said to the corpse, Go, and inform Augustus, that the legacies, which he left to the common people, have not as yet been paid. Tiberius ordered the unfortunate wit to be brought before him, and, after paying him what was computed to be his share, sent him to immediate execution, saying at the same time: "Go, and tell "Augustus *(b)*, that you have received your "legacy." Not a day passed without some new proof of that sullen malignity, which he pampered in solitude, and converted, at length, into a rooted hatred of mankind.

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The most common occurrences irritated his passions, and discovered the rancour of his heart. In a few days after he arrived at Capreæ, as he was walking in a sequestered part of the island, a fisherman, eager to mark his respect for the emperor, made his way over rugged steeps, and pointed rocks, to present a barbel *(c)* of uncommon size. Alarmed by this intrusion on his privacy, Tiberius ordered the man's face to be well rubbed with his own barbel. The astonished fisherman, as soon as he recovered from his fright, congratulated himself, that he had not brought with him a large crab, which he had taken on the coast. Tiberius called for the crab, and with the claws, and edge of the shell, cut and mangled the poor fellow's features, till he made his countenance a woeful spectacle.

These, it must be acknowledged, are minute particulars, and may be thought unworthy of the historian's pen: but, when they serve to produce strokes of character, and lay open the inward temper of the man, even such materials may be allowed to merit our attention. The merciless disposition of Ti-

berius, and the unrelenting cruelty, with which he took away the lives of the most illustrious citizens, have been seen in a variety of tragic issues, and, perhaps, will be placed in a conspicuous light by those smaller incidents, which the diligence of other writers has collected, and which, for that reason, deserve to be here recorded. Death was considered by Tiberius as the end of human sorrow, and, consequently, as the slightest punishment that he could inflict. Whenever the unhappy prisoner wished to die, and lay down at once his load of affliction, that relief was sure to be denied: he was condemned to groan in misery. It happened that a man, of the name of Carvilius *(d)*, finding himself accused of some real or pretended crime, put a period to his days. Being informed of the fact, Tiberius exclaimed, "That man has escaped from me." Upon another occasion, he thought fit to make all his prisoners pass in review before him. One of them, harassed out with pain, petitioned for a speedy execution. "No," said Tiberius, "I have not yet made up my "quarrel with you."

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42. To give a minute and exact account

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of all his cruelties, is not the purpose of this undertaking; and yet, nothing that affords an insight into the character of a deliberate and systematic tyrant, can with propriety be omitted. His band of astrologers, and the Greek philosophers, whom he retained at his court, did not meet with more kindness and humanity, than the unhappy wretches, whom he tortured in prison, and threw from rocks and precipices into the sea. He entered into conversation with Zeno *(a)*, a man celebrated for his acquisitions in literature, and in all the various branches of science. The philosopher was curious in his choice of words, and spoke with a degree of elegance, that bordered on too much refinement. Surprised at some of his expressions, Tiberius asked him, which of the Greek dialects supplied him with such nice and difficult phraseology? Zeno told him, the DORIC, which, it seems, was the language in use at the isle of Rhodes. Tiberius was enraged at the answer: he conceived it to be a sarcastic allusion to the time of his residence in that island, and, in his rage, banished the philosopher to the isle of Cinaria.

Seleucus *(b)*, the grammarian, was also in-

vited to enjoy the sweets of meditation in the solitary retreats of Capreæ. He found that the emperor came to his evening repast, well provided with abstract questions, which he had gleaned from his morning studies. In order to be prepared for all difficulties, the philosopher made it his business to learn, from the attendants of the emperor, what authors their master chose for his amusement in the course of the day. In consequence of this intelligence, no question came upon him by surprise. Tiberius heard of the stratagem, and was fired with indignation. He thought it an attempt to pry into his actions with inquisitive eyes. The philosopher, now considered as a spy, received orders to appear no more at court, and, in a short time afterwards, was put to death.

Historians relate another transaction, which, by a difference of opinion among themselves, they have rendered somewhat doubtful: but since they have transmitted it as a problem to exercise the judgment of posterity, it may, with propriety, be inserted in this place, and left to try its fortune with the reader. A man, whose name is not mentioned, but, as it seems, an architect by profession, was em-

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ployed by Tiberius, to repair an arch, that was tottering to its fall. He succeeded in the work, to the surprise of all who beheld it; and, after receiving a reward for his skill and ingenuity, was, by the jealous malignity of the emperor, sent into banishment. Addicted to the mechanic arts, and fond of useful inventions, this man found the method of manufacturing glass *(c)* to a degree of perfection unknown before. Having prepared his materials, and made a vase of the most beatiful composition, he went to present it to Tiberius in the isle of Capreæ, little doubting but that, for so fine a piece of workmanship, he should obtain his pardon. Tiberius had a circle of his courtiers round him. The transparent vessel excited the admiration of all. The artist received it from the hands of the emperor, and to shew the wonders of his skill, dashed it on the ground. The company was alarmed, but, in a short time, stood astonished to see, that, instead of flying into fragments, it was only bent and flattened in the part that stuçk against the ground. Their surprize was still more increased, when they saw the ingenious mechanic take out his hammer, and restore the glass to its original form, as if it had the

flexibility of a malleable metal. Tiberius desired to know, whether he had communicated the secret of his art to any other person; and, being assured that no one knew it, he ordered him to be hurried away to instant execution, giving for his reason, that a manufacture, which could transmute ordinary ingredients into so fine a form, would lessen the value of brass, and gold, and silver, and ought, for that reason, to be abolished for ever.

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43. Such were the repeated acts of fell and savage cruelty, which Tiberius hoped to hide in the solitude of Capreæ. Rome, in the mean time, was a scene of slaughter, where superior talents, virtue, truth, and innocence, perished by the stroke of lawless power. The charge of violated majesty was the signal of destruction, and a letter from Capreæ was a warrant for execution. The senate obeyed the mandate; no rule of law prevailed; justice was trampled under foot; reason and humanity were never heard; and all who did not dispatch themselves, were sure to perish by the judgment of a corrupt tribunal. The islands were crowded with il-

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lustrious exiles, and the Tiber was discoloured with blood. After the death of Sejanus, the fury of the emperor rose to the highest pitch, and at Rome the people followed his example. Nothing could appease the spirit which had been roused against all, who stood in any degree connected with the unhappy favourite. Men of the first distinction, senators as well as Roman knights, were seized by the tyrant's order; some hurried to a dungeon, and others detained in the custody of the magistrates. None escaped, except such as stooped to the infamous trade of informing against others. Numbers, who had been formerly under prosecution, and, in the hour of danger, were protected by Sejanus, were now cited to appear, and executed without mercy. Neither rank, nor sex, nor age was safe. Several, to avoid a sentence of condemnation, and save their fortunes for their children, died by their own hands. Some had the courage to set their enemies at defiance, and with becoming magnanimity stood forth to assert their innocence, determined, since their fate was unavoidable, to preserve, to the last, the honour of a fair and upright character.

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VI. In the course of these prosecutions, no less than four-and-forty speeches were made before the senate; some of them dictated by fear, and others by servile adulation, the epidemic vice of the times. Amidst the general wreck, a senator *(a)* of distinguished eminence, and superior dignity of mind, finding himself doomed to destruction, called a meeting of his friends, and spoke to the following effect. "There was a time, when "no human prudence could foresee, that "the friendship, which subsisted between "Sejanus and me, would either prove a re- "proach to him, or a calamity to myself. A "reverse of fortune has changed the scene. "And yet, even at this day, the great per- "son who chose Sejanus for his colleague, "and even for his son-in-law, does not con- "demn his own partiality. Numbers there "were, who courted the minister in his me- "ridian splendour, but in the moment of his "decline turned against him, with treachery "and base ingratitude. The first was their

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" servility ; the last was their crime. Which " of the two evils is the worst, to suffer, on " the one hand, for a faithful attachment, " or, on the other, to blacken the character " of the man whom we have loved, I shall " not decide. The dilemma is dreadful. For " myself I will not poorly wait to feel either " the cruelty or the compassion of any man. " While I yet am free; while I enjoy the " congratulations of my own conscience, I " will act as becomes a man, and outstrip " the malice of my enemies. To you, my " friends, this is my last request: Pursue " me not with tears and vain regret: con- " sider death as an escape from the miseries " of life; and add my name to those heroic " spirits, who chose to die with glory, ra- " ther than survive to see the ruin of their " country."

VII. After this discourse, he passed a considerable part of the day in calm serenity, receiving the visits of his friends, and taking leave of such as chose to depart. With a large circle round him, while all eyes beheld with admiration the undaunted courage, which appeared in his countenance, and gave reason to hope that his end was not so near,

he fell upon the point of his sword, which he had concealed under his mantle. Tiberius waged no war against his memory. To Blæsus, when that officer could no longer speak for himself, he behaved with inveterate rancour; but this upright citizen was allowed to rest in peace.

VIII. Publius Vitellius *(a)* and Pomponius Secundus were soon after cited to appear before the senate. Vitellius had been entrusted with the care of the public treasury, and the military chest. He was charged with a design to surrender both for the service of the conspirators, with intent to overturn the government. The allegation against Pomponius was his intimacy with Ælius Gallus, who, immediately after the execution of Sejanus, fled to the gardens of the accused, deeming that place his safest sanctuary. This charge was supported by Confidius, a man of prætorian rank. In this distress, those two eminent men had no resource but the magnanimity of their brothers, who generously stood forth, and gave security for their appearance. Vitellius, harassed out by various delays, and at length weary of alternate hopes and fears, called for

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a pen-knife, as if going to write, and opened his veins, but with so slight a wound, that he continued to linger for some time longer. He died of a broken heart. Pomponius, who was distinguished no less by his genius, than by the gaiety and elegance of his manners, supported himself in adversity with undaunted spirit, and survived Tiberius.

IX. The fury of the populace began to subside, the blood already spilt having well nigh appeased their indignation. The fathers, however, did not relent. Two children of Sejanus, a son and a daughter, still survived the massacre of their family. They were both seized by order of the senate, and dragged to prison. The son was grown up to years of discretion; but the daugther, as yet a tender infant, was insensible of her sad condition. She was hurried through the streets, asking in a tone of simplicity, "What "fault she had committed? Whither they "were leading her? Tell her her offence, and "she would be guilty of the like no more: "they might chastise her, and she would pro-"mise to be good." A virgin(a) sentenced to capital punishment was, at that time, a thing unheard of at Rome: but we are told

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by writers of good authority, that to satisfy the forms of law, a detestable artifice was employed. The executioner deflowered her first, and strangled her afterwards. Her brother suffered at the same time. Their bodies were thrown into the *Gemoniæ*, or the common charnel, where the vilest malefactors were exposed.

X. About this time a report was spread through Greece and Asia, that Drusus, the son of Germanicus, had been seen in the islands called the Cyclades, and afterwards on the continent. A young man, it seems, about the age of Drusus, assumed the name of that unfortunate prince. The emperor's freedmen encouraged the impostor, intending to favour him at first, and betray him in the end. A name so celebrated as that of Drusus drew together a large conflux of the common people. The genius of the Greeks, fond of novelty, and at all times addicted to the marvellous, helped to propagate the story. The prince, they said, had escaped from his confiement, and was then on his way to head the armies of Asia, formerly commanded by his father. With that force he intended to make himself master of Ægypt,

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or of Syria. Such was the tale dressed up by the lively genius of the Greeks. What they invented, they were willing to believe. The hero of this romance had his train of followers, and the wishes of the multitude favoured his cause. The impostor flushed with success, began to anticipate his future grandeur.

Meanwhile, Poppæus Sabinus, the proconsular governor of Macedonia and Greece, but engaged at that time in the former province, received an account of this wild attempt. He resolved to crush the adventurer without delay, and, accordingly having passed the two bays of Toronis and Thermes, he crossed over to Eubœa, an island in the Ægean sea. From that place he sailed to Piræum, on the coast of Athens, and thence to Corinth and the adjoining isthmus. He there embarked on the opposite sea, and steered his course to Nicopolis, a Roman colony, where he was informed that the impostor, when interrogated by persons of skill and judgment, declared himself the son of Marcus Silanus. After this discovery, the number of his adherents falling off, he went on board a vessel, with intent, as he himself gave out, to pass over into Italy.

Sabinus sent this account to Tiberius. The affair ended here: of its origin, progress, or final issue, nothing further has reached our knowledge *(a)*.

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XI. Towards the close of the year, warm dissensions broke out between the two consuls. Their animosities, which had been festering for some time, were now gathered to a head. Trio was by nature restless, bold, and turbulent. He had been formerly exercised in the practice of the bar *(a)*, and thence more ready to provoke hostilities. He charged his colleague with too much lenity towards the accomplices of Sejanus. Regulus was a man of moderation; if not insulted, modest; if provoked, neither stupid, nor unwilling to resent an injury. Not content with refuting his adversary, he threatened to arraign him, as an accomplice in the late conspiracy. The fathers interposed their good offices to compromise a quarrel, which was likely to end in the ruin of both; but the ill will between the two consuls was not to be appeased. They continued at variance, provoking and threatening each other during the rest of the year.

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These transactions include near six years.

Years of Rome	Of Christ.	Consuls.
785	32	*Cneius Domitius Oenobarbus, M. Furius Camillus Scribonianus.*
786	33	*Ser. Sulpicius Galba, L. Cornelius Sulla.*
787	34	*Paulus Fabius Persicus, Lucius Vitellius.*
788	35	*C. Cestius Gallus, M. Servitius Nonianus.*
789	36	*Sext. Papinius Allenius, Quintus Plautius.*
790	37	*Cneius Acerronius Proculus, Caius Pontius Nigrinus.*

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I.

CNEIUS DOMITIUS *(a)* and Camillus Scribonianus succeeded to the consulship. They had not been long in office, when Tiberius crossed the narrow sea that divides the isle of Capreæ from Surrentum, and sailing along the coast of Campania, made his approach towards Rome, in doubt whether to enter the city; or, perhaps because he had determined otherwise, choosing to raise expectations, which he never meant to gratify. He went on shore at various places; visited his gardens on the banks of the Tiber; and at length, having amused the people with false appearances, went back to hide himself,

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his vices, and sensualities, amidst the rocks of Capreæ. In that place he gave a loose to his inordinate appetites, a tyrant even in his pleasures. With the pride of eastern despotism, he seized the young men of ingenuous birth, and forced them to yield to his brutal gratifications. Elegance of shape and beauty of feature were not his only incentives. The blush of modesty served as a provocative; and to stain the honour of respectable families, gave a zest to his enjoyments. New modes of sensuality were invented, and new terms for scandalous refinements in lascivious pleasure. Then, for the first time, were introduced into the Roman language the words Sellarii *(b)* and Spintriæ; two words of the vilest import, signifying at once the place of clandestine vice, and the unnatural experiments of infamous prostitution. Slaves were employed to provide objects of desire, with full commission to allure the venal with presents, and to conquer the reluctant by threats and violence. If friends interposed in the defence of youth and innocence; if a parent attempted to protect his child, ruffian force was exercised. Compulsion and captivity followed. Like slaves by conquest, all were at the mercy of a detest-

able crew, whose business it was to pander for the passions of their master. BOOK VI. A. U. C. 785. A. D. 32.

II. At Rome, in the mean time, the guilt of the younger Livia *(a)*, as if she had not been sufficiently punished, was resumed with warmth and violence. The senate thundered forth decrees against her memory, and her very statues. The property of Sejanus was ordered to be removed from the public treasury *(b)*, to the coffers of the prince; as if, in either place, it would not have been equally at his disposal. The Scipios, the Silani, and the Cassii were the authors of this alteration. They proposed the measure, and enforced it with their best ability, but with little variance either in the language, or the argument.

Togonius Gallus had the ill-timed ambition to mix his name, however obscure and insignificant, with men of the highest rank. He made himself ridiculous; and malignity, for that reason, was willing to listen to him. He proposed that out of a number of senators, chosen by the prince, twenty should be drawn by lot, to serve under arms, as a guard to Tiberius, whenever he should choose to honour the senate with his presence. This

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extravagant motion sprung from the folly of a man, who was weak enough to believe *(c)* that the emperor was in earnest, when he desired, by letter, that one of the consuls should be sent to guard him on his way from Capreæ to Rome. Tiberius, according to his custom, mingling a vein of irony with serious business, thanked the fathers for this mark of their care. He desired to know, "who "were to be elected into the body-guard, "and who rejected? Was it to be an office "for life, or by rotation? Were they to be "draughted from the younger part of the "senate, or to consist of such as had passed "through the gradations of the magistracy? "Must they be actual magistrates, or men "in a private station? And again, when the "senators, sword in hand *(d)*, were drawn "up rank and file in the porch of the senate-"house, what kind of scene would that mot-"ley appearance present to the people? A "life, which must be thus defended, was not "worth his care." In this strain of raillery he replied to Togonius, adding nothing harsh, and not a word of serious tendency to over-rule the motion.

III. Junius Gallio *(a)* was not let off

on the same easy terms. He had given his opinion that the soldiers of the prætorian band, having served the requisite time, should enjoy the privilege of sitting on the fourteen rows *(b)* of the theatre, appropriated to the Roman knights. Against the mover of this innovation, Tiberius launched out with vehemence, and, though absent, with all the ardour of a personal expostulation. He asked, "what business has Gallio "to interfere with the military line? Why "intermeddle with those, whose duty it is "to receive their orders, and the reward of "their service, from the emperor only? A "new plan of policy, unknown to the wisdom "of Augustus, has been broached by the su- "perior genius of this able statesman! Per- "haps, it was the project of a man, bred in "the school of Sejanus, with a view to kindle "the flame of discord, and, under colour of "dispensing military honours, to seduce the "affections of the army, to the ruin of disci- "pline and all good order." Such were the wages earned by flattery. Gallio intended to pay his court, and, for his attempt, was expelled the senate, and banished out of Italy. He retired to Lesbos; but it being suggested, that, in the charming scenes of that de-

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lightful island, what was intended as a punishment, would be, in fact, a pleasing recompence, he was brought back to Rome, and ordered into close confinement in the house of a civil magistrate.

In the letter which directed this proceeding, Tiberius marked out Sextius Paconianus, of prætorian rank, as another victim. The fathers received, with pleasure, the condemnation of a man, whom they knew to be of a bold and turbulent spirit, willing to embark in any scheme of iniquity, and infamous for their pernicious talent of worming himself into the secrets of others. When Sejanus began to meditate the destruction of Caligula, he chose this man for his confidential agent. That dark conspiracy being now laid open, every breast was fired with indignation; and if the miscreant had not prevented his fate, by offering to make important discoveries, the senate was ready to adjudge him to instant death.

IV. The person, against whom he informed, was the well-known Latinius Latiaris. The accuser and the accused were objects of public execration: and the spectacle, which they

both presented, diffused a universal satisfaction. Latiaris *(a)*, the reader will remember, was the chief instrument in the ruin of Sabinus. Of the several actors in that foul transaction he was the first that paid the forfeit of his crimes. In the course of this day's debate, Haterius Agrippa attacked the consuls of the preceding year. "After mutual "accusations, why did they now remain si- "lent? Fear, and their own consciences, "have made them compromise all matters "in dispute. They are joined in bonds of "the strictest union. But the senate heard "their mutual accusations, and ought now "to institute a serious enquiry." Regulus replied, that in due time it was his intention to bring the business forward, but he waited for the presence of the emperor. Trio observed, that their hostilities were nothing more than the jealousy that often happens between colleagues in office; but such petty disputes ought not to be revived. This did not satisfy Agrippa. He still persisted, till Sanquinius Maximus, of consular rank, rose to allay the ferment. He entreated the fathers to be cautious how they multiplied the cares of the emperor. To be ingenious in framing new complaints, was not their pro-

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vince. They might rely on the wisdom of Tiberius, comprehensive as they knew it to be, and equal to the task of remedying every evil. In consequence of this conciliating speech, Regulus remained in full security, and the ruin of Trio *(b)* was deferred to a further day. As to Haterius Agrippa, the violence of his conduct made him more than ever an object of the public hatred. Too indolent for a life of business, he passed his days in sleep, and his nights in riot and debauchery. His vices made him an enervated sluggard, and, at the same time, screened him from the cruelty of a jealous and unforgiving tyrant. And yet this man, amidst the joys of wine, and in the harlot's lap, had the malevolence to plan the ruin of the most illustrious citizens.

V. Messalinus Cotta, the ready author of the most sanguinary measures, was the next person accused. This prosecution called forth a multitude of enemies. All were eager to have their full blow at a man long known and detested. The charge against him was, that, to fix on Caius Cæsar *(a)* the imputation of unnatural vices, he had called the young prince by the female name of Caia, and, at a banquet given by the pontiffs, in honour of the

birth-day of Livia, he called that feast a *(b)* funeral entertainment. It was further alleged, that, in a law-suit with Manius Lepidus, and Lucius Arruntius, he complained of the weight and influence of his adversaries, but said at the same time, "Let them "boast of their interest with the senate; "my little friend Tiberius will outweigh "them all." In support of this charge, the first men in Rome were willing witnesses. Cotta knew how to baffle his enemies. He removed the cause by appeal to the emperor. Tiberius, in a letter to the senate, made the apology of Cotta: he stated the friendship, which had long subsisted between them, and the obligations, by which he himself was bound. He concluded with a request, that words casually spoken, and sallies of vivacity in the moments of convivial mirth, might not be converted into crimes.

VI. The letter, sent by Tiberius on this occasion, is too remarkable to be here omitted. His words were as follows: "What to "write *(a)*, conscript fathers; in what terms "to express myself, or what to refrain from "writing, is a matter of such perplexity,

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"that if I know how to decide, may the just "gods, and the goddesses of vengeance, doom "me to die in pangs, worse than those "under which I linger every day." We have here the features of the inward man. His crimes retaliated upon him with the keenest retribution; so true is the saying of the great philosopher *(b)*, the oracle of ancient wisdom, that if the minds of tyrants were laid open to our view, we should see them gashed and mangled with the whips and stings of horror and remorse. By blows and stripes the flesh is made to quiver, and in like manner, cruelty, and inordinate passions, malice and evil deeds, become internal executioners, and with unceasing torture goad and lacerate the heart. Of this truth Tiberius is a melancholy instance. Neither the imperial dignity, nor the gloom of solitude, nor the rocks of Capreæ, could shield him from himself. He lived on the rack of guilt, and his wounded spirit groaned in agony.

VII. Cæcilianus, the senator, had taken an active part in the prosecution of Messalinus Cotta. For that offence Tiberius left him to the discretion of the fathers, who

thought fit to inflict the pains and penalties, which they had pronounced against Aruseius and Sanquinius, the two informers against Lucius Arruntius. The decision was honourable to Cotta; a man, it is true, of illustrious birth, but beggared by his vices, and for the profligacy of his manners universally abborred. The redress, which he now obtained, placed him on a level with the unblemished excellence that distinguished the character of Arruntius.

Quintus Servæus and Minutius Thermus were, in the next place, both arraigned. The former was of prætorian rank, and had been the companion of Germanicus in all his expeditions; the latter was a Roman knight, who had enjoyed the friendship of Sejanus, but with reserve and moderation. Their misfortunes excited compassion. Tiberius declared against them both. He called them the principal agents in that dark conspiracy, and, for proof of the fact, desired that Cestius, a member of the senate, would give in evidence what he had written to the emperor. Cestius became their accuser.

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Among the calamities of that black period, the most trying grievance was the degenerate spirit, with which the first men in the senate submitted to the drudgery of common informers; some without a blush, in the face of day; and others by clandestine artifices. The contagion was epidemic. Near relations, aliens in blood, friends and strangers, known and unknown, were, without distinction, all involved in one common danger. The fact recently committed, and the tale revived, were equally destructive. Words alone were sufficient; whether spoken in the forum, or amidst the pleasures of the table, was immaterial. Whatever the occasion or the subject *(a)*, every thing was a constructive crime. Informers struggled, as it were in a race, who should be first to ruin his man; some to secure themselves; the greater part infected by the general corruption of the times.

Minutius and Servæus were both condemned, but saved themselves by giving evidence against others. They accused Julius Africanus, a native of Gaul, and Scius Quadratus, of whose origin no account remains.

Of the various dangers that threatened numbers, and the execution of others, I am aware that no accurate account is to be found in the historians of the time. The writer sunk under the weight of his materials, and, feeling himself oppressed by the repetition of tragic events, was unwilling to fatigue his readers with the uniformity of blood and horror. It has happened, however, that, in the researches which I have made, several facts have come to light, untouched, it is true, by the pen of others, yet not unworthy of being recorded.

VIII. In that dangerous crisis, when the creatures of Sejanus, denying their connections, were making from the wreck, Marcus Terentius, a Roman knight, had the spirit to avow his friendship in a speech to the following effect; "In my situation, conscript "fathers, I know the danger of owning my- "self the friend of Sejanus; and I know that "to disclaim him altogether would be the "best mode of defence. Be that as it may, "I am willing to declare my sentiments. I "was the friend of that minister; I sought "his patronage, and I gloried in it. I saw "him associated with his father in the com-

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"mand of the prætorian bands: I saw him "afterwards, not only at the head of the mi- "litary department, but invested with the "whole civil authority. His friends and re- "lations rose to honours; and to be in his "good graces, was a sure road to the favour "of the prince. On the other hand, all, on "whom the minister frowned, were either "crushed by the weight of power, or left to "languish in obscurity. I forbear to men- "tion names. Speaking in my own defence, "I plead the cause of all who, like myself, "were connected with the favourite, and like "myself, were unconscious of his last designs.

"In paying court to Sejanus, it was not the "Vulsinian citizen whom we endeavoured "to conciliate; it was a branch of the Clau- "dian and the Julian families; it was the "son-in-law of Cæsar; it was his colleague "in the consulship; it was his vicegerent in "the administration, to whom our homage "was offered. Is it the pleasure of the em- "peror to raise a favourite above his fellow "citizens? It is not for us to estimate the "merit of the man, nor ours to weigh the "motives that determined the choice. The "supreme power is in the hands of the

" prince; committed to him by the gods: BOOK VI.
" and submission is the virtue of every ci- A. U. C.
" tizen. Of the mysteries of state we see 785.
" no more than what he is willing to reveal; A. D.
" we see who is raised to dignities, and who 32.
" has power to distribute the rewards and
" the terrors of government. That the rays
" of majesty were collected, and fell on Se-
" janus, no man will deny. The sentiments
" of the prince are to us impenetrable. The
" secret springs of action it is not in our power
" to discover; the attempt were dangerous,
" and may deceive the ablest statesman.

" When I speak of Sejanus, conscript fa-
" thers, I do not speak of the minister, fallen
" from the height of power, undone and
" ruined. I speak of Sejanus, sixteen years
" in the meridian of his glory. During that
" time, a Satrius Secundus and a Pomponius
" commanded our respect. And if his freed-
" men, or the porter at his gate, condescend-
" ed to be gracious, we considered it as the
" highest honour. But to come to the point:
" Shall this be the defence of all who followed
" the fortunes of of Sejanus? By no means,
" conscript fathers; draw the line yourselves;

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"let the enemies of the commonwealth, and "the conspirators against the prince, be de- "livered up to public justice; but let the "offices of friendship remain inviolate; and "let the principle, which justifies the choice "of the prince, be at least an apology for the "subject."

IX. The firmness of this speech, and the spirit of the man, who could boldly utter what others only dared to think, made such an impression, that the prosecutors, for their former crimes added to their present malignity, were either driven into banishment, or condemned to death. Tiberius soon after sent an accusation against Sextus Vestilius, of prætorian rank, and formerly high in favour with Drusus, the emperor's brother. Tiberius, for that reason, had received him with open arms, and ranked him in the number of his intimate friends. The crime now laid to his charge was a satirical piece against Caligula, for which Vestilius, the real, or the supposed author, was excluded from the emperor's table. In despair, he opened a vein, but with the trembling hand of age. The wound was slight, and he tied it up again, in order

to try the effect of a petition. Having received an obdurate answer, he once more made use of his weapon, and bled to death. BOOK VI. A. U. C. 785. A. D. 32.

The next prosecution was intended to make a sweep of a great number at once. Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus, Mamercus Scaurus, and Sabinus Calvisius, were grouped together in a charge of violated majesty. Vinicianus was added to his father Pollio. They were all men of the first rank, and some of them invested with the highest civil honours. The senate was struck with terror. Few in that assembly stood detached, either in point of friendship or alliance, from the persons accused. It happened that the evidence of Celsus, a tribune of the city cohorts, and one of the prosecutors, acquitted Appius Silanus and Calvisius. The trial of Pollio, Vinicianus, and Scaurus, was put off, by order of Tiberius, till he himself should think proper to attend in person. In the mean time, some pointed expressions in his letter plainly shewed that Scaurus was the chief object of his resentment.

X. Nor even the softer sex could find a

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shelter from the calamity of the times. Women, it is true, could not be charged with designs to overturn the government; but natural affection was made a crime, and the parental tear was treason. Vitia, the mother of Fusius Geminus, wept for her son, and for that offence, in an advanced age, she was put to death. Such were the horrible proceedings of the senate. Tiberius in his island was no less vindictive. By his order, Vescularius Flaccus and Julius Marinus, his two earliest friends, who had followed him to the isle of Rhodes, and still adhered to him in the isle of Capreæ, were hurried to execution. In the ruin of Libo, the first had been the active agent of the emperor; and in the plot, by which Sejanus wrought the downfal of Curtius Atticus, Marinus was the principal actor. The public saw, with pleasure, that the authors of destruction perished by their own pernicious arts.

About this time Lucius Piso, the præfect of Rome *(a)*, paid his debt to nature. He had lived his days with honour, and, what was rare in that black period, though high in rank and authority, he died by mere de-

cay. A man of principle, and never, of his own motion, the author of harsh or violent measures; he was able frequently to prevent or mitigate destructive counsels. Piso the censor, as already mentioned, was his father. The son lived to the age of fourscore. By his services in the wars of Thrace he obtained triumphal ornaments; but his truest triumph, the glory of his character, arose from the wisdom with which he acted as governor of Rome, tempering, with wonderful address, the rigour of an office, odious on account of its novelty, and rendered, by its duration, a galling yoke to the people.

XI. The origin of this institution may be traced in the early ages of Rome. While the monarchy continued, and afterwards under the consular government, that the city might not be left, during the absence of the king or consuls, in a state of anarchy, a civil magistrate was invested with the whole executive authority. By Romulus, we are told, Romulius Denter was appointed; Numa Marcius, by Tullus Hostilius; and Spurius Lucretius *(a)*, by Tarquin the Proud. That precedent was followed by the consuls; and, even at this day, we find an image of the

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custom in the temporary magistrate, who, during the Latin festivals, discharges the functions of the consul. In the time of the civil wars, Augustus delegated the supreme authority, both at Rome and throughout Italy, to Cilnius Mæcenas, a Roman knight. When the success of his arms made him master of the empire, finding an unwieldy government on his hands, and a slow and feeble remedy from the laws, he chose a person of consular rank, to restrain, by speedy justice, the slaves wthin due bounds, and to controul the licentious spirit of the citizens, ever turbulent, and, if not overawed, prone to innovation. The first that rose to this important post was Messala Corvinus, who found himself unequal to the task, and resigned in a few days. Taurus Statilius succeeded, and, notwithstanding his advanced age, acquitted himself with honour and ability. Lucius Piso was the next in office. During a series of twenty years, he discharged the duties of that difficult station with such an even tenor, and such constant dignity, that, by a decree of the senate, he was honoured with a public funeral.

XII. A REPORT relating to a book of the

Sybils *(a)* was presented to the senate by Quinctilianus, a tribune of the people. Caninius Gallus, who was of the college of fifteen, considered this book as the undoubted composition of the Cumæan prophetess; and, as such, desired that, by a decree, it might be enrolled in the proper archives. The question was put, and carried *(b)* without opposition. Tiberius, by letter, condemned the whole proceeding. The youth of Quinctilianus, he admitted, might be an apology for his ignorance of ancient customs; but he observed, and not without asperity, that it ill became a man like Gallus, versed in the science of laws and religious ceremonies, to adopt the performance of an uncertain author, without having first obtained the sanction of the quindecemviral college, and without so much as reading it, as had been the practice, at a meeting of the pontiffs. Besides this, the vote was passed by surprise in a thin meeting of the senate. He added further, that since the world abounded with spurious productions, falsely ascribed to the venerable name of the ancient Sybil, it had been the wisdom of Augustus *(c)* to fix a stated day, on or before which all papers of the kind were to be deposited with the prætors, and

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none, after the limited time, to remain in private hands. For this regulation there was an ancient precedent. After the social war, when the Capitol was destroyed by fire, diligent search was made at Samos, at Ilium, at Erythræ, in Africa, Sicily, and all the Roman colonies, in order to collect the Sybilline verses, whether the production of a single prophetess, or of a greater number; and the sacerdotal order had directions, as far as human sagacity could distinguish, to separate the fictitious from the genuine composition. In consequence of this letter, the book in question was referred to the college of fifteen, called the QUINDECIMVIRI.

XIII. DURING the same consulship, the distress, occasioned by a dearth of corn, well nigh excited a popular insurrection. For several days the clamour in the theatre was outrageous beyond all former example. Tiberius wrote to the senate, and, in terms of keen reproach, censured the inactivity of the magistrates, who suffered the mutinous spirit of the populace to rage without controul; he stated the quantity of grain imported annually by his orders, and the provinces from which he drew his supplies, far exceeding the

importation formerly made by Augustus. To restore the public tranquillity, the senate passed a decree in the style and spirit of the old republic. The consuls followed it with an edict of equal rigour. The emperor took no part in the business; but his silence gained him no popularity: he flattered himself with hopes that it would pass for the moderation of a republican prince; but it was deemed the sullen pride of a tyrant.

XIV. Towards the end of the year, three Roman knights, by name, Geminius, Celsus, and Pompeius, were charged with a conspiracy, and condemned to suffer. Geminius had been a man of pleasure, and great prodigality. His taste for expence and luxury recommended him to the friendship of Sejanus, but a friendship merely convivial, leading to no serious connection. Junius Celsus, at that time one of the tribunes, as he lay fettered in prison, contrived to lengthen out his chain, so as to wind it round his neck, and strangle himself.

About the same time, Rubrius Fabatus, who had fled from the city, with intent to seek among the Parthians a refuge from the

BOOK VI. A. U. C. 785. A. D. 32. disasters of the time, was apprehended by a centurion, near the streights of Sicily, and brought back to Rome. Being questioned, he was not able, with any colour of probability, to account for his sudden departure on so long a journey. He escaped, however, though not by an act of clemency. He continued to live in safety, not pardoned, but forgotten.

A. U. C. 786. A. D. 33. XV. SERVIUS GALBA and Lucius Sylla were the next consuls. Tiberius saw his *(a)* grand-daughters in the season of life, that made it proper to dispose of them in marriage. On that subject he had deliberated for some time. His choice, at length, fixed on Lucius Cassius and Marcus Vinicius. Vinicius was born at a small municipal town, known by the name of CALES. His father and grandfather were of consular rank; but the family, before their time, never rose higher than the equestrian order. Their descendant united to his amiable manners a vein of pleasing eloquence. Cassius was born at Rome, of a plebeian, but respected family. He was educated under the strict tuition of his father, but succeeded

more through happiness than care and industry. To these two the daughters of Germanicus were given in marriage; Drusilla to Cassius, and Julia to Vinicius. Tiberius in his letters to the senate made honourable mention of the young men, but in a style of reserve. He touched on his long absence from the capital, and, after glossing it over with vague and frivolous reasons, talked in a more serious tone of the weight of government, and the animosities which he was obliged to encounter. He desired that Macro, præfect of the prætorian guards, with a small number of tribunes and centurions, might have directions to guard his person, as often as he should attend the senate. A decree was passed in the amplest form, according to his desire, without limitation of rank or number. Tiberius, notwithstanding, never appeared in the assembly of the fathers, nor even entered the walls of Rome. He made feigned approaches, still retreating through devious roads, suspecting the people, and flying from his country.

XVI. The practice of usury was a grievance that distressed the whole community. Against such as sought to increase their wealth

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by placing out money *(a)* at exorbitant interest, actions were commenced. The money-lenders were accused under a law enacted by Julius Cæsar, whereby the terms of lending on land-security, throughout Italy, were defined and settled; a wise and salutary law, but fallen into disuse, the public good, as is too often the case, giving way to private advantage. Usury, it must be admitted, was an early canker of the commonwealth, the frequent cause of tumult and sedition. Laws were made to repress the mischief, while yet the manners were pure and uncorrupted. In the first ages of the commonwealth, interest of money was arbitrary, depending on the will and pleasure of the opulent; but, by a law of the twelve tables, it was reduced to one for the hundred. More was declared illegal. In process of time a new regulation, proposed by the tribunes, lowered it to one half; and, finally, it was abolished altogether. It began however to revive, and, to suppress its growth, new sanctions were established by the authority of the people: but fraud found new expedients, often checked, and as often re-appearing in different shapes. In the reign of Tiberius, at the point of time now in question,

the complaint was brought before Gracchus the prætor, who was empowered, by virtue of his office, to hear and determine. That magistrate, however, seeing numbers involved in the question, submitted the whole to the consideration of the senate. In that order few were exempt from the general vice. Alarmed for themselves, and wishing to obtain a general immunity, the fathers referred the business to the emperor. Tiberius complied with their request. A year and six months were granted, that men in that time might adjust and settle their accounts, according to law.

XVII. The want of current money brought on a new scene of distress. Creditors pressed to have their accounts balanced, and judgment was signed against such as stood indebted. Their effects were sold, and all the specie was either carried to the public treasury, or swallowed up in the coffers of the prince. To alleviate this inconvenience, the senate ordered, by a decree, that two-thirds of each man's debt should be secured on lands in Italy. But still the creditors claimed the whole of their demand, and the debtor, by

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consequence, was reduced to the brink of ruin. He wished to save his honour; the necessity pressed; meetings were held, supplications were tried, but the law took its course. The tribunal of the prætor resounded with complaints, and noise, and lamentations. The project of obliging the debtor to sell his lands, and the creditors to purchase, instead of healing the mischief, made it worse. The usurers lay in wait to buy at a reduced price, and, for that purpose, hoarded up their money. The value of lands sunk in proportion to the number of estates on sale, and the debtor was left without resource. Whole families were ruined; their credit was destroyed, and every prospect vanished. Tiberius interposed with seasonable relief. He opened a fund of one hundred thousand great sesterces, as a public loan, for three years, free from interest, on condition that the borrower, for the security of the state, should mortgage lands of double the value. By this salutary aid public credit was revived. The money, which had lain in private hands, began to circulate; and the order of the senate, directing the sale of land-property, fell into disuse. Like most plans of

reformation, it was embraced at first with ardour; but the novelty ceased, and the scheme ended in nothing.

XVIII. The rage of prosecutions, from which Rome had an interval of rest, broke out again with collected fury. The first that suffered was Confidius Proculus, on a charge of violated majesty. On his birth-day, while he was celebrating that annual festival, he was seized, in the moment of joy, and conducted to the senate-house, where he was tried, condemned, and hurried away to execution. His sister, Sancia, was interdicted from fire and water. The prosecutor, who appeared against her, was Quintus Pomponius, a fierce and turbulent spirit. To curry favour with the prince, and thereby save his brother, Pomponius Secundus, was the pretence with which this man endeavoured to palliate his iniquity. The senate proceeded next against Pompeia Macrina. She was condemned to banishment. Her husband, Argolicus, and Laco, her father-in-law, both of distinguished rank in Achaia, had, before this time, fallen victims to the cruelty of Tiberius. Macrina's father, an illustrious Roman knight, and her brother, who was

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of prætorian rank, to avoid a similar sentence, put an end to their lives. The crime alleged against them was, that their ancestor, Theophanes, of Mitylene, had been the confidential friend of Pompey the Great; and that divine honours were paid to the memory of Theophanes by the flattering genius of the Greek nation.

XIX. Sextus Marius, who held the largest possessions in Spain, was the next victim. Incest with his own daughter was the imputed crime; he was precipitated down the Tarpeian rock. That the avarice of Tiberius was the motive for this act of violence, was seen beyond the possibility of a doubt, when the gold-mines of the unfortunate Spaniard, which were forfeited to the public, were known to be seized by the emperor for his own use. He was now so far plunged in blood, that executions served only to whet his cruelty. At one blow, he ordered all, who were detained in prison for their supposed connection with Sejanus, to be put to instant death. A dreadful carnage followed: neither sex nor age was spared; the noble and ignoble perished without distinction; dead bodies in mangled heaps,

or scattered up and down, presented a tragic spectacle. Neither friend, nor relation, dared to approach; none were permitted to sooth the pangs of death, to weep over the deceased, or to bid the last farewell. Guards were stationed to watch the looks of afflicted friends, and to catch intelligence from their tears, till, at length, the putrid bodies were thrown into the Tiber, to drive at the mercy of the winds and waves. Some were carried away by the current; others were thrown on shore, but to burn or bury them was allowed to no man. All were struck with terror, and the last office of humanity was suppressed. Cruelty went on increasing, and every sentiment of the heart was smothered in silence.

XX. About this time, Caligula, who paid close attendance on his grandfather in the isle of Capreæ, was married to Claudia *(a)*, the daughter of Marcus Silanus. This young prince had the art to conceal, under a veil of modesty, the most detestable of human characters. Neither the condemnation of his mother, nor the banishment of his brother, could extort from him one word of compassion. He studied the humours of Tiberius;

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he watched the whim of the day, and set his features accordingly, in dress and language the mimic of his grandfather. Hence the shrewd remark of Passienus, the famous orator: "There never was a better slave, nor a more "detestable master." A prophetic expression, that fell from Tiberius, concerning Galba, who was this year in the office of consul, may not unaptly be inserted in this place. Having called him to an audience, in order to penetrate his inmost thoughts, he tried him on various topics, and, at length, told him in Greek, "You too, Galba, at a future day, will have "a taste of sovereign power;" alluding to his elevation late in life, and the shortness of his reign. To look into the seeds of time was the early study of Tiberius. In the isle of Rhodes, judicial astrology was his favourite pursuit. In the acquisition of that science, he there employed his leisure, under Thrasullus, whose abilities he tried in the following manner:

XXI. Whenever he chose to consult an astrologer, he retired with him to the top of the house, attended by a single freedman, selected for the purpose, illiterate, but of great bodily strength. This man conducted the

soothsayer, whose talents were to be tried, along the ridge of the cliff, on which the mansion stood; and as he returned, if the emperor suspected fraud, or vain affectation of knowledge, he threw the impostor headlong into the sea. Tiberius was, by these means, left at ease, and no witness survived to tell the story. Thrasullus was put to the same test. Being led along the precipice, he answered a number of questions; and not only promised imperial splendour to Tiberius, but opened a scene of future events, in a manner that filled his imagination with astonishment. Tiberius desired to know, "whether he had cast his "own nativity? Could he foresee what was to "happen in the course of the year? nay, on "that very day?" Thrasullus consulted the position of the heavens, and the aspect of the planets: he was struck with fear; he paused; he hesitated; he sunk into profound meditation; terror and amazement shook his frame. Breaking silence at last, "I perceive," he said, "the crisis of my fate; this very moment may "be my last." Tiberius clasped him in his arms, congratulating him both on his knowledge, and his escape from danger. From that moment, he considered the predictions of

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Thrasullus as the oracles of truth, and the astrologer was ranked in the number of the prince's confidential friends.

XXII. When I reflect on this fact, and others of a similar nature, I find my judgment so much on the balance, that, whether human affairs are governed *(a)* by fate and immutable necessity, or left to the wild rotation of chance, I am not able to decide. Among the philosophers of antiquity, and the followers of their different sects among the moderns, two opposite opinions have prevailed. According to the system of one party, "in "all that relates to man, his formation, his "progress, and his end, the gods have no con- "cern; and, by consequence, calamity is often "the good man's portion, while vice enjoys "the pleasures and advantages of the world." In opposition to this hypothesis, another school maintains, "that the immutable law of "fate is perfectly consistent with the events of "the moral world; that law, they tell us, does "not depend on the course of wandering pla- "nets, but is fixed in the first principles of "things, supported and preserved by a chain "of natural causes. Man, notwithstanding,

" is left at liberty to choose his sphere of ac-
" tion; but the choice once made, the conse-
" quences follow in a regular course, fixed,
" certain, and inevitable." By this sect we are further taught, " that good and evil are
" not always what vulgar error has so defined;
" on the contrary, many, whom we see strug-
" gling with adversity, are yet perfectly hap-
" py; while others, in all the pride and af-
" fluence of fortune, are truly wretched.
" The former, by their fortitude, tower above
" the ills of life; and the latter, by their in-
" discretion, poison their own felicity."

Sublime as this theory may be, there is still a third opinion, which has taken root in the human mind, and cannot be eradicated. According to this doctrine, the colour of our lives is fixed in the first moment of our existence; and, though what is foretold, and the events that follow, may often vary, the fallacy is not to be imputed to the art itself, but to the vanity of pretenders to a science, respected by antiquity, and in modern times established by undoubted proof. In fact, the reign of Nero was foretold by the son of this very Thrasullus: but this, to avoid a long digression, shall be reserved for its proper place *(b)*.

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XXIII. During the same consulship, the death of Asinius Gallus *(a)* became publicly known. That he died by famine, no man doubted; but whether through compulsion, or wilful abstinence, is uncertain. Application was made for leave to perform his funeral obsequies; nor did Tiberius blush to grant as a favour, what was the common right of man. He regretted, however, that a criminal, before he could be convicted in his presence, had escaped the hand of justice; as if in three years, since the charge was laid, there was not sufficient time to proceed against a man of consular rank, and the father of consuls.

The death of Drusus *(b)* followed. By order of Tiberius he was to be starved to death. By chewing the weeds that served for his bed, the unhappy prince lingered nine days in misery. At the time when Macro received his orders to act with vigour against Sejanus, Tiberius, as some writers assert, gave directions, if that desperate minister had recourse to arms, that Drusus, then confined in the palace, should be produced to the people, and proclaimed emperor. In consequence of this report, an opinion prevailed, that the prince was on the point of being reconciled to his

grandson and his daughter-in-law. But to relent was not in the temper of Tiberius: he was supposed to be mercifully inclined, and he chose rather to display his cruelty. BOOK VI. A. U. C. 786. A. D. 33.

XXIV. The death of Drusus was not sufficient to satisfy the vengeance of Tiberius. He persecuted the memory of the prince with unextinguished hatred; he imputed to him unnatural passions, and represented him as a person who had not only lost all family affection, but, being possessed of an aspiring genius, was actually employed in concerting measures to overturn the government. He ordered a day-book to be read before the fathers, in which the words and actions of Drusus were carefully recorded. In the annals of history is there any thing to match this black, this horrible inquisition? For a length of time spies of state were appointed to keep a register of words, to interpret looks, and note the groans that issued from the heart. That the grandfather could countenance a plot so black and detestable; that he could listen to the whispered tale; read a clandestine journal, and not only read it in secret, but produce it in the face of day, appears too atrocious to be

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believed, if the fact were not authenticated by the letters of Actius the centurion, and Didymus the freedman. In the narrative left by those men, we find the names of the slaves employed about the prince's person. One struck him, as he came forth from his chamber; another overpowered him with terror and dismay.

The centurion, as if brutality were a merit, boasts of his savage expressions. He relates the words of the prince, in the last ebb of life, spoken against Tiberius, at first, perhaps, in a feigned delirium, but when his end drew near, in a tone of solemn imprecation, imploring the gods, that he, who imbrued his hands in the blood of his daughter-in-law; who murdered his nephew; who destroyed his grand-children, and in his own family laid a scene of slaughter, might not escape the punishment due to his crimes. "Reserve him," he said, "reserve him, gods! for your own just ven-"geance: let him fall a terrible example to "the present age, and to all posterity." The fathers, affecting to shudder at imprecations so eager and emphatic, interrupted the reading; but they felt the impression at their

hearts. With horror and astonishment they beheld a tyrant, who, with close hypocrisy, had hitherto concealed his crimes, but was now so hardened, that without shame or remorse, he could throw open prison-walls, and shew his grandson under the centurion's lash, exposed to common ruffians, and, in the agony of famine, begging a wretched pittance to support expiring nature, but begging it in vain.

XXV. The grief occasioned by the melancholy death of Drusus had not subsided, when the public *(a)* received another shock from the tragic end of Agrippina. The fall of Sejanus afforded a gleam of hope, which, it may be conjectured, helped to support her spirits for some time: but when she saw no alteration of measures, worn out and tired of life she resolved to close the scene. Her death was said to be voluntary; but if it be true, that all nourishment was withheld from her, it is evident that an artful tale was fabricated, to give the appearance of suicide to a cruel and barbarous murder. Even after her decease, Tiberius continued still implacable. He loaded her memory with the foulest imputations; he charged her with incontinence; he

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pronounced Asinius Gallus her adulterer; and when she lost her paramour, life, he said, was no longer worth her care. But the character of Agrippina was invulnerable. It is true, that a mind like hers could not brook an equal. Ambition was her ruling passion; and in her views of grandeur the soft desires of her sex were lost. Tiberius added, as a a circumstance worthy of being recorded, that she died on the anniversary of the day that freed the world from Sejanus two years before. That she was not strangled and thrown into the common charnel-house, he thought fit to celebrate as an act of clemency. The senate thanked him for the tender indulgence, and ordained, by a decree, that the fifteenth before the calends of November (the day on which Sejanus and Agrippina both expired) should be observed as a solemn festival, with annual offerings on the altar of Jupiter.

XXVI. Soon after these transactions, Cocceius Nerva *(a)*, the constant companion of the prince, a man distinguished by his knowledge of laws, both human and divine, possessing a splendid fortune, and still in the vigour of health, grew weary of life, and formed

a resolution to lay the burthen down. Tiberius, on the first intelligence, paid him a visit; he entered into close conversation; he desired to know his motives; he expostulated, tried the force of entreaty, and declared, without reserve, that if a man, so high in favour, without any apparent reason, put an end to his life, it would be a stab to the emperor's peace of mind, and a stain indelible to his reputation. Nerva declined the subject. He persisted in wilful abstinence, and shortly after closed his days. From those who best knew his character and way of thinking, we learn the reasons of his conduct. He saw the cloud that was ready to burst on the commonwealth, and struck, at once, with fear and indignation, he resolved, while yet his honour was unblemished, to escape with glory from the horrors of the time.

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Extraordinary as it may seem, the death of Agrippina drew after it the ruin of Plancina. She was formerly the wife of Cneius Piso. The reader will remember the savage joy with which she heard of the death of Germanicus. When her husband perished, the

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influence of Livia, and, still more, the enmity of Agrippina, skreened her from the punishment due to her crimes. But court-favour and private animosity were at an end, and justice took its course. The charge against her was founded on facts of public notoriety. In despair she laid violent hands on herself, and suffered, at last, the slow, but just reward of a flagitious life.

XXVII. Amidst the tragic events that covered the city of Rome with one general face of mourning, a new cause of discontent arose from the marriage of Julia (the daughter of Drusus *(a)*, and lately the wife of Nero) with Rubellius Blandus, whose grandfather, a native of Tibur, and never of higher distinction than the equestrian rank, was fresh in the memory of men still living. Towards the end of the year, the funeral of Ælius Lamia was celebrated with all the honours of the censorian order. He had been for some time the nominal governor of Syria, and having resigned that imaginary title, was made præfect of Rome. Illustrious by his birth, he lived to a vigorous old age; and, not being suffered to proceed to the

province of Syria, he derived from that very restraint additional dignity *(b)*. BOOK VI. A. U. C. 786. A. D. 38.

The death of Pomponius Flaccus *(c)*, prætor of Syria, which happened soon after the decease of Lamia, produced a letter from Tiberius to the senate, remonstrating that officers of rank, who by their talents were fit to be at the head of armies, declined the service; and, by consequence, the emperor was reduced to the necessity of requesting, that the fathers would use their influence, to induce men of consular rank to undertake the office. He forgot, however, that ten years before, Arruntius was appointed to the government of Spain, but, during that whole time, never permitted to leave the city.

In the course of this year died Manius Lepidus *(d)*, whose wisdom and moderation have been already mentioned. To say any thing of the nobility of his birth were superfluous, since it is well known, that the house of the Æmilii, from whom he derived his pedigree, produced a race of eminent citizens. If any of the family degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, they continued, not-

BOOK VI. withstanding, to support the splendour of an ancient and illustrious race.

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XXVIII. PAULUS FABIUS and Lucius Vitellius *(a)* succeeded to the consulship. In the course of the year, the miraculous bird, known to the world by the name of the phœnix *(b)*, after disappearing for a series of ages, revisited Ægypt. A phænomenon so very extraordinary could not fail to produce abundance of curious speculation. The learning of Egypt was displayed, and Greece exhausted her ingenuity. The facts, about which there seems to be a concurrence of opinions, with other circumstances, in their nature doubtful, yet worthy of notice, will not be unwelcome to the reader.

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That the phœnix is sacred to the sun, and differs from the rest of the feathered species, in the form of its head, and the tincture of its plumage, are points settled by the naturalists. Of its longevity, the accounts are various. The common persuasion is, that it lives five hundred years, though by some writers the date is extended to fourteen hundred and sixty-one. The several æras, when the phœnix has been seen, are fixed by tra-

dition. The first, we are told, was in the reign of Sesostris *(c)*; the second, in that of Amasis; and in the period when Ptolemy, the third of the Macedonian race, was seated on the throne of Ægypt, another phœnix directed its flight towards Heliopolis, attended by a groupe of various birds, all attracted by the novelty, and gazing with wonder at so beautiful an appearance. For the truth of this account, we do not presume to answer. The facts lie too remote, and, covered as they are with the mists of antiquity, all further argument is suspended.

From the reign of Ptolemy to Tiberius, the intermediate space is not quite two hundred and fifty years. From that circumstance it has been inferred by many that the last phœnix was neither of the genuine kind, nor came from the woods of Arabia. The instinctive qualities of the species were not observed to direct its motions. It is the genius, we are told, of the phœnix, when its course of years is finished, and the approach of death is felt, to build a nest in its native clime, and there deposit the principles of

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life, from which a new progeny arises. The first care of the young bird, as soon as fledged, and able to trust to its wings, is to perform the obsequies of his father. But this duty is not undertaken rashly. He collects a quantity of myrrh, and, to try his strength, makes frequent excursions with a load on his back. When he has made his experiment through a long tract of air, and gains sufficient confidence in his own vigour, he takes up the body of his father, and flies with it to the altar of the sun, where he leaves it to be consumed in flames of fragrance. Such is the account of this extraordinary bird. It has, no doubt, a mixture of fable; but that the phœnix, from time to time, appears in Ægypt, seems to be a fact sufficiently ascertained.

XXIX. Rome continued to stream with the blood of eminent citizens. Pomponius Labeo, who had been, as already mentioned, governor of Mysia, opened his veins and bled to death. His wife Paxæa had the spirit to follow his example. Suicide was the only refuge from the hand of the executioner. Those who waited for the sentence of the

law incurred a forfeiture, and were, besides, deprived of the rites of sepulture; while to such as died by their own hand, funeral ceremonies were allowed, and their wills were valid. Such was the reward of dispatch! *(a)* Self-destruction was made the interest of mankind. One the subject of Labeo's death, Tiberius wrote to the senate. He observed, "that in ancient times, when all ties of "friendship were to be dissolved, it was the "custom to give notice to the discarded "party, that his visits were no longer agree-"able. In that manner he had acted with "Labeo: all connection was at an end. But "that unhappy man, finding himself charg-"ed with the iniquity of his government, "and pressed by the weight of other crimes, "made a shew of injured innocence, with "intent to throw the odium of his death on "the emperor. The example was fatal to "his wife. She took the alarm, and perish-"ed with her husband. She might have "quelled her fears; for, though her guilt was "manifest, she might have lived in safety."

A new prosecution was commenced against Mamercus Scaurus *(b)*, a distinguished sena-

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tor, famous as well for his eloquence as the nobility of his birth, but a libertine in his conduct. He had been connected with Sejanus, but on that account no danger threatened him. The enmity of Macro, who practised the wiles of Sejanus, but with deeper policy, was the cause of his ruin. A tragedy, written by Scaurus, was the ground of the charge. Some lines were cited from the piece, and, by a strained construction, said to point obliquely at Tiberius. But to make sure work, Servilius and Cornelius, two informers by profession, accused him of adultery with the younger Livia *(c)*, and of secret practices in the magic art. Scaurus, with a spirit worthy of the ancient Æmilii, from whom he was descended, resolved not to linger for a public sentence. His wife Sexitia exhorted him to an act of bravery, and died herself, with the courage which she recommended.

XXX. Amidst these acts of violence, the informers, in their turn, were abandoned to their fate. Servilius and Cornelius, who, by their conduct to Scaurus, had brought on themselves the public detestation, were

charged with taking a bribe, to compound a prosecution commenced by themselves against Varius Ligur. They were both interdicted from fire and water, and transported to the islands. A similar fate attended Abudius Rufo. This man had discharged the office of ædile, and also served, at the head of a legion, under Lentulus Gætulicus. He turned informer against his commanding officer, alleging that he had projected a match between his daughter and one of the sons of Sejanus. He construed this into a crime, and for the attempt was banished from Rome. At the time when this prosecution was set on foot, Gætulicus commanded the legions in Upper Germany. Distinguished by his clemency, and without rigour maintaining military discipline, he was the idol of the soldiers. By his interest with his father-in-law, Lucius Apronius, he was also high in credit with the other army, which was stationed at a small distance. In this situation, it is said, not without probability, that he had the courage to dispatch a letter to Tiberius, to the following effect: "The proposed alliance "with Sejanus did not originate with him- "self: the emperor had recommended it. "The meanest citizen is liable to error, no

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"less than the prince. To mistake with impunity cannot be the prerogative of the emperor, and, at the same time, a crime in others. For himself, his fidelity remained inviolate, and, if no snare was laid for his ruin, nothing could shake his principles. Should a successor be sent to supersede him in the command, he should understand it as the prologue to a sentence of condemnation. But there were conditions, on which something like a treaty between both parties might be settled: he desired to remain unmolested in the government of the province, and Tiberius might give the law to the rest of the Roman world." Incredible as this anecdote may appear, it gains an air of authenticity, when it is considered, that, of all the favourites of Sejanus, Gætulicus was the only person who had the secret to preserve his life, and live in the good graces of the prince. The truth is, Tiberius knew that he had incurred the public hatred. Worn out with age and infirmities, he was wise enough to reflect, that fame and the opinion of mankind, rather than the exercise of power, must for the future be the pillars of his government.

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XXXI. In the consulship of Caius Cestius *(a)* and Marcus Servilius, a deputation from the Parthian nobility, without the concurrence or privity of Artabanus, their king, arrived at Rome. While the arms of Germanicus filled the East with terror, that monarch continued to adhere with good faith to the Romans, and to rule his own dominions with equity and moderation. He broke out afterwards with open violence; to Rome, proud and arrogant; to his people, fierce and unrelenting. The prosperous events of war with the neighbouring nations inspired him with the pride and insolence of victory. He saw Tiberius, in the decline of life, a feeble prince *(b)*, disarmed and powerless. Armenia was the object of his ambition. Artaxias *(c)*, king of the country, was no sooner dead, than he placed his eldest son, Arsaces, on the vacant throne. His arrogance did not stop there. By his ambassadors he demanded, in haughty and imperious terms, immediate restitution of the treasures left by Vonones *(d)* in Syria and Cilicia. He laid claim, besides, to all the territories, formerly belonging to the Persians and Macedonians. He added, in a style of vain glory, that whatever was possessed by Cyrus, and afterwards by Alexander, was his

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undoubted right, and he was determined to recover the same by force of arms.

The Parthians, in the mean time, by the advice of Sinnaces, a man of great opulence and noble birth, sent their secret embassy to Rome. The measure was supported by Abdus *(e)*, the eunuch. In the eastern nations the loss of manhood is no degradation: on the contrary, it leads to power and preferment. With those two leading chiefs the grandees of Parthia entered into a conspiracy. But still to wear the regal diadem, one only of the race of the Arsacides could be found. The greatest part of that family was cut off by Artabanus, and the survivors were too young to govern. The Parthians, therefore, desired that Tiberius would send Phraates *(f)*, son of the king of that name, to mount the throne of his ancestors. That title and the sanction of Rome would be sufficient. Let a prince of the house of Arsaces, under the protection of Tiberius, shew himself on the banks of the Euphrates, and nothing more was necessary: a revolution would be the certain consequence.

XXXII. The enterprise was agreeable

to the wishes of Tiberius. He dispatched Phraates, enriched with presents, and every mark of splendour suited to the royal dignity. But still it was his fixed plan not to depart from his former resolution to work by stratagem, and, if possible, to avoid a war. The secret transpired at the Parthian court. Artabanus was thrown into a state of violent perplexity. Revenge and fear took possession of him by turns. In the idea of an eastern monarch, indecision is the mark of a servile mind. Vigour and sudden enterprise are attributes of the royal character. In the present juncture, those notions gave way, and his interest conquered prejudices. He invited Abdus to a banquet, and, by a slow poison, rendered him unfit for action. With Sinnaces he thought it best to dissemble. He loaded him with presents, and, by employing him in state affairs, left him no leisure for clandestine machinations. Meanwhile Phraates arrived in Syria. Willing to conform to the customs of the East, he threw off the dress and manners of the Romans. The transition, however, was too violent; and his constitution proving unequal to so sudden a change, he was carried off by a fit of illness. Tiberius was unwilling to relinquish a measure which he had once

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approved. He named Tiridates, descended from the same stock with Phraates, as a fit rival to contend with Artabanus.

In order to recover the kingdom of Armenia, he entered into an alliance with Mithridates, a prince of the Iberian line, having beforehand contrived to reconcile him to his brother Pharasmanes, then the reigning monarch of Iberia. An important scene was now open in the east. To conduct the whole, Tiberius gave the command to Lucius Vitellius *(a)*. The character of this officer is well known. He shewed himself in his true colours to the people of Rome, insomuch that his memory is held in detestation. In the East, however, his conduct was irreproachable. He acted in the province with the integrity of an ancient Roman. After his return he renounced that character altogether, a ready apostate from every virtue. His dread of Caligula, and his intimacy with Claudius, transformed him into an abject slave. He is now remembered as a model of the vilest adulation. What was praise-worthy in the beginning of his days, changed to infamy in his riper years. The virtues of youth gave way to the vices of age.

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XXXIII. Mithridates was the first of the petty kings of Asia, who took a decisive part. He drew his brother Pharasmanes into the league, and engaged that monarch to employ both force and stratagem to promote the enterprise. By their agents they bribed the servants of Arsaces to end their master's life by poison. The Iberians, in the mean time, entered Armenia with a numerous army, and took possession of the city of Artaxata. On the first intelligence Artabanus dispatched his son Orodes, at the head of the Parthian forces, to oppose the enemy, and, in the mean time, sent out his officers to negociate for a body of auxiliaries. Pharasmanes, on his part, spared no pains to reinforce his army. He engaged the Albanians in his service. He listed the Sarmatians; but a part of that people, called the Sceptucians, were willing, according to the custom of the nation, to be hired by any of the powers at war, the ready mercenaries in every quarrel. They were at that time actually engaged on both sides, and of course divided against themselves. The Iberians, having secured the defiles and narrow passes of the country, poured down from the Caspian mountains a large body of their

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Sarmatian auxiliaries, and soon over-ran all Armenia. The Parthians were not able to advance. The enemy was in force at every post, one only road excepted, and that, extending between the Caspian sea and the mountains of Albania, was impassable in the summer months. In that season of the year the Etesian *(a)* winds blow constantly one way, and, driving the waves before them, lay the country under water. In the winter, the wind from the south rolls the flood back into the deep, and leaves the country a dry and naked shore.

XXXIV. While Orodes saw his succours cut off, Pharasmanes with augmented numbers advanced against him. He offered battle, but the enemy declined the conflict. The Iberian rode up to the entrenchments; he endeavoured to provoke the enemy; he cut off their forage, and invested their camp. The Parthians, not used to brook dishonour, gathered in a body round the prince, and demanded the decision of the sword. Their main strength consisted in their cavalry. Pharasmanes added to his horse a large body of infantry. His own subjects, and the forces

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from Albania, dwelling chiefly in wilds and forests, were inured, by their mode of life, to labour and fatigue. If we may believe the account which they give of their origin, they are descended from the people of Thessaly, who followed Jason when that adventurer, having issue by Medea, returned to Colchis, on the death of Æetes, to take possession of the vacant throne. Concerning the Greek hero, and the oracle of Phryxus *(a)*, various traditions are current amongst them. For the last their veneration is such, that in their sacrifices a ram is never offered as a victim, the people conceiving that Phryxus was conveyed across the sea by an animal of that species, or in a ship with that figure at the head. The two armies were drawn out in order of battle. Orodes, to animate the valour of his men, called to their mind the glory of the eastern empire, and the race of the Arsacides. "They "were now to cope with a band of mercenaries, led by an Iberian chief, of mean "extraction, ignoble, and obscure." In the opposite army, Pharasmanes pressed every topic that could inflame the ardour of his troops. "They were men who never yielded "to the Parthian yoke: they fought now for

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"conquest: the more bold the enterprize, "the greater would be their glory. If they "gave ground, or turned their backs on the "enemy, shame and ruin would pursue them. "Look round," he said, "and view both "armies. Behold on our side a dreadful "front of war; on that of the enemy an un-"warlike band of Medes, gay in their ap-"parel, and glittering with gold. Here we "have men and steel; there cowards, and "booty to reward our valour."

XXXV. In the Sarmatian ranks it was not the general only that harangued the men. By mutual exhortations, according to their custom, they roused each other's valour. They resolved to reserve their darts, and rush on to a close engagement. The field of battle presented an attack in different forms. The Parthians, skilled alike in the onset and the retreat, endeavoured to open their ranks, in order to gain room for the discharge of their arrows. The Sarmatians threw their bows aside, determined with their swords and pikes to decide the fortune of the day. In one place was seen an engagement of the cavalry; they advanced to the charge; they

wheeled about; they changed with sudden velocity. In another quarter the infantry fought hand to hand, and buckler to buckler. They attacked, and were repulsed; they wounded, and were wounded. The Iberians and Albanians grappled with the enemy; they pulled them by main force from their horses; they distracted them by two different modes of engaging. Their cavalry rushed on, and their infantry stood close embodied. The two adverse generals, Orodes and Pharasmanes, exerted every effort. They rushed into the heat of the action: they encouraged the brave; they rallied the broken ranks, and signalised themselves in every part of the field. Conspicuous to all, at length they knew each other. At the sight, with instinctive fury, their horses at full speed, they rushed forward to the charge, bellowing revenge, and darting their javelins. Pharasmanes, with a well-directed weapon, pierced the helmet of Orodes; but, hurried on by the fury of his horse, he was not able to pursue his advantage. Orodes was sheltered by his guards who flew to his assistance. A report that he was slain spread through the ranks. The spirit of the Parthians be-

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gan to droop, and victory declared for the Iberians.

XXXVI. Artabanus, to repair the loss, marched with the whole strength of his kingdom. The Iberians knew the course of the country, and by their valour gained a second victory. The Parthian, notwithstanding, kept the field till such time as Vitellius advanced with his legions, intending, as was industriously given out, to enter Mesopotamia. To avoid a war with Rome, the Parthian king abandoned Armenia, and returned to his own dominions. From that time his ruin may be dated. Vitellius carried on a correspondence with the leading men of Parthia, and, to incite them to a revolt, represented Artabanus as a king, cruel in time of peace, and in war disastrous to the whole nation. Sinnaces, at the head, as already mentioned, of a powerful faction, drew to his interest his father, Abdageses, and other malecontents, who were now, by the unprosperous events of war, determined to throw off the mask. A great number through fear, and not from principle, hitherto inactive, went over to the disaffected. Artabanus found himself deserted on every side. He

had only one expedient left. He chose for his body-guard a band of mercenaries, men void of honour, the outcast of their country, to good and evil, vice and virtue, alike indifferent, and for their hire ready to perpetrate every crime. With these attendants the fugitive monarch sought the frontiers of Scythia. His ruined cause, he still hoped, would find support from the Carmanians, and the people of Hyrcania, with whom he was connected by ties of affinity. He relied, moreover, on the fickle temper of the Parthians. A wavering and inconstant people, always disgusted with the reigning prince, and, after his expulsion, prone to repent, might act towards himself with the same versatility, and once more declare in his favour.

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XXXVII. The throne being in this manner vacant, and the Parthians, in their rage for innovation, appearing ready to embrace a new master, Vitellius thought it time to fire the ambition of Tiridates, and to support him in the enterprize, marched with the auxiliaries, and the strength of his legions, to the banks of the Euphrates. In order to propitiate the river god *(a)*, preparations were made for a solemn sacrifice. The Ro-

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man, according to the rites of his country, offered a swine, a ram, and a bull; a horse was the victim slain by Tiridates. While they were thus employed, the people of the country came in with an account that the Euphrates, without any fall of rain, swelled miraculously above its banks, and, the waves with a rapid motion turning round in circling eddies, the foam on the surface presented the form of a diadem. This was deemed a favourable omen. By others, who judged with more penetration, the prognostic was seen in a different light. According to their interpretation, it promised success at first, and a speedy reverse of fortune. In support of this opinion it was observed, that the earth and heavens hold forth unerring signals: but the omens, collected from the appearance of rivers, were, like the element from which they spring, always uncertain. They appear and vanish in a moment.

A bridge of boats being prepared, the whole army passed over the Euphrates. While they lay encamped, Ornospades, at the head of a large body of cavalry, amounting to several thousands, came in as an auxiliary. This man was a native of Parthia, formerly banished

from his country; but for his services under Tiberius, during the war in Dalmatia *(b)*, admitted to the privileges of a Roman citizen. Being afterwards reconciled to his native prince, he rose to the first honours of the state, and was appointed governor of that whole region which lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates, for that reason called MESOPOTAMIA *(a)*. Sinnaces, in a short time after, joined the army with a strong reinforcement. Abdageses, the pillar of the party, delivered up the royal treasure, and the richest ornaments of the crown. Vitellius considered the business as finished. The Roman eagles appeared on the banks of the Euphrates, and more was unnecessary. He gave his best advice to Tiridates, and the authors of the revolution. Addressing himself to the prince, "Remember," he said, "that you are the grandson of Phraates, and "that you have been trained up by Tiberius: "let that reflection be ever present to your "mind: it will animate you in the career of "glory." He exhorted the grandees of Parthia to pay obedience to their king, and due respect to the Roman name. By being faithful to both, they would at once fulfil their engagements, and maintain their honour.

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Having made this arrangement, he returned with his legions into Syria.

XXXVIII. In relating these transactions, I have thrown together, in one connected series, the business of two campaigns; in order, by a view of Asiatic affairs, to relieve the attention of the reader, and give the mind some respite from domestic misery. From the death of Sejanus three years had elapsed, and yet neither time nor supplications, nor even a deluge of blood, could soften the cruelty of Tiberius. Things that mitigate the resentment of others, made no impression on that unforgiving temper. Crimes of an ancient date were revived as recent facts, and charges without proof passed for demonstrations of guilt. The band of informers joined in a league against Fulcinius Trio *(a)*. That citizen, knowing that his fate was determined, put an end to his life. In his will he spoke in the bitterest terms of Macro, and the emperor's freedmen. Nor did he spare Tiberius. His understanding, he said, was reduced by years and infirmity to a state of dotage, and his long absence was no better than banishment from his country. These reflections the heirs of Trio

wished to suppress; but Tiberius ordered the will to be read in public; perhaps to shew the world that he could allow full liberty of thinking, and despise the censure that pointed at himself; perhaps, having been for many years blind to the villainy of Sejanus, he chose, at last, that invectives of every sort should be brought to light, to the end that truth, always warped by flattery, might reach his ear, though undisguised, and at the expence of his reputation. About the same time died by his own hand Granius Martianus, a member of the senate, who found himself attacked by Caius Gracchus on the law of violated majesty. Tatius Granius, who had served the office of prætor, was prosecuted in like manner, and condemned to suffer death.

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XXXIX. The same fate attended Trebellienus Rufus *(a)* and Sextius Paconianus; the former dispatched himself, and the latter, for some sarcastic verses against the emperor, the production of his prison-hours, was strangled in the jail. Of all these tragic scenes Tiberius had the earliest intelligence; not, as before, by messengers that crossed the sea to the isle of Capreæ; he heard the news in the

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very neighbourhood of Rome, hovering about the city at so small a distance, that often on the same day, or, at most, a single night intervening, the consuls received his answers to their dispatches, and his final orders for immediate vengeance. He placed himself in a situation so near the theatre of horror, that he could almost see the blood that streamed in every family, and hear the stroke of the executioner.

Towards the end of the year died Poppæus Sabinus *(b)*, a man of humble birth, but, by the partiality of two emperors, raised to the consulship, and distinguished by triumphal honours. During a series of four-and-twenty years, the government of considerable provinces was committed to his care, not for any extraordinary talents, but because he had a capacity of a level for business, and not above it.

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XL. The next consulship was that of Quintus Plautius and Sextus Papinius. In the course of this year Lucius Aruseius and others died under the hand of the executioner: their fate, however cruel, passed unheeded among the common occurrences of the time. Scenes

of blood were grown familiar, and made no impression. And yet the fate of Vibulenus Agrippa was attended with circumstances that struck a general panic. His trial came on before the senate. As soon as the prosecutors closed their case, he swallowed a deadly poison, which he had concealed under his robe, and instantly expired. He was seized, notwithstanding, and in that condition dragged to a dungeon, where the lictor fastened his cord *(a)* round the neck of a dead man. Even Tigranes *(b)*, who had formerly swayed the sceptre of Armenia, suffered without distinction. The title of royalty did not exempt him from the lot of a common citizen.

Caius Galba *(c)*, of consular rank, and the two Blæsi, embraced a voluntary death; Galba, because by letters from Tiberius, written in terms of acrimony, he was excluded from the usual mode of obtaining a province by lot; and the Blæsi, because the order of priesthood, which had been promised in their day of prosperity, was, since they were no longer in favour, withheld from them, and to those vacant dignities others were appointed. A

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step so decisive they considered as nothing less than a signal to die; and they obeyed.

Æmilia Lepida *(d)*, whose marriage with Drusus has been mentioned, remained, during the life of Lepidus her father, in perfect security, but detested by the public. Her protector being now no more, the informers seized their opportunity, and accused her of adultery with a slave. Of her guilt no doubt was entertained. She made no defence, but executed justice on herself.

XLI. About this time the Cliteans, a people subject to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, impatient of being taxed according to the system practised in the Roman provinces, made a secession to the heights of mount Taurus. Being there possessed of the advantage-ground, they were able to defend themselves against their sovereign, and his unwarlike troops. To quell the insurgents, Vitellius, governor of Syria, dispatched Marcus Trebellius, at the head of four thousand legionary soldiers, and a select detachment of auxiliaries. The Barbarians had taken post on two hills; the least was

called CADRA, and the other DAVARA. Trebellius inclosed both with lines of circumvallation. All who dared to sally out were put to the sword; the rest were reduced by thirst and famine.

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Meanwhile, Tiridates was well nigh established on the throne of Parthia. The cities of Nicephorium, Anthemusia, and other places, originally settled by the Macedonians, and from their founders deriving names of Greek termination, opened their gates to the new monarch. Halus and Artemita, two Parthian cities, followed the example; the people every where vying with each other in demonstrations of joy. A revolution, by which Artabanus, a tyrant bred among the Scythians, was driven from the throne, gave universal satisfaction to the Parthians. They knew that Tiridates had been educated among the Romans, and, from his arts of civilization, expected a mild and equitable government.

XLII. THE inhabitants of Seleucia *(a)* declared for the new king in a style of flattery that exceeded all their neighbours. Seleucia is a fortified city of considerable strength.

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The barbarity of Parthian manners never gained admission amongst them. Being a colony planted by Seleucus, they still retained the institutions of their Grecian founder. A body of three hundred, chosen for their wealth or superior wisdom, gave the form of a senate. The people have their share in the government. When both orders act with a spirit of union, they are too strong for the Parthians. If they clash among themselves, and one faction looks abroad for support, the foreign prince, who arrives as the friend of a party, becomes the oppressor of all. In the reign of Artabanus this fatal consequence was actually felt. That monarch threw the whole weight into the scale of the nobles, and the people, by consequence, were surrendered as the slaves of a violent aristocracy. This form of government was agreeable to the ideas of eastern despotism. A regular democracy holds too much of civil liberty, while the domination of the few differs but little from absolute monarchy.

The reception of Tiridates at Seleucia, was splendid beyond all example. To the homage which the practice of ages had established, new honours were added by the inventive

genius of flattery. Amidst the applause and acclamations of the people, reproaches loud and vehement were thrown out against Artabanus, a man related, by the maternal line only, to the house of the Arsacidæ, and, by his actions, a disgrace to the name. Tiridates sided with the people of Seleucia, and restored the democracy. A day for his coronation was still to be fixed. While that business was in agitation, dispatches arrived from Hiero and Phraates, two leading men, and governors of extensive provinces. They desired that the ceremony might be deferred for a few days. A request from men of their importance came with weight, and was accordingly followed. The court, in the mean time, removed to Ctesiphon, the capital of the empire, and the seat of government. New delays were thrown in the way by the two grandees, and the business of the coronation was protracted from time to time. At length the regent of the country, called the SURENA *(b)*, proceeded, according to the national custom, to solemnize the inauguration of the king. In the presence of a numerous assembly, and amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people, he invested Tiridates with the regal diadem.

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XLIII. If, after this ceremony, Tiridates had penetrated at once into the heart of the kingdom, and shewn himself to the interior provinces, by that decisive step the minds of such as wavered had been fixed, and the prince had mounted the throne with the consent of the nation. He staid imprudently to amuse himself with the siege of a castle, in which were lodged the concubines of Artabanus, with all the royal treasure. The delay gave time for treachery and revolt. Phraates, Hiero, and others of the nobility, who were not present at the coronation, turned their thoughts, with their usual love of innovation, towards the deposed king. For this conduct their motives were various. Some acted from their fears, and others from their ill-will to Abdageses, who had gained the supreme authority at court, and the entire ascendant over the new monarch. The malecontents went in quest of Artabanus. He was found in Hyrcania, covered with wretchedness, and with his bow and arrow procuring his daily sustenance. On the first appearance of his friends, he was seized with terror, suspecting nothing less than treachery, and a design against his life. Being assured of their fidelity, and their resolution to

restore him to his dominions, he felt his hopes revived: and whence, he said, this sudden change? Hiero gave this answer: "Tiridates "is no better than a boy; nor is the royal "dignity vested in a prince descended from "the line of the Arsacidæ. Enervated by the "luxuries of Rome, the stripling contents "himself with the shadow of authority, while "the whole power of the state is in the hands "of Abdageses."

XLIV. The politic king, formed during a long reign in the school of experience, knew that men, whose friendship is fallacious, may notwithstanding be believed, when they avow their hatred. Without loss of time he raised a supply of men among the Scythians, and marched forward with intent to give no time either to the arts of his enemies, or the natural levity of his friends. The sordid habit in which he was found, he still continued to wear; hoping, by his wretched appearance, to make an impression on the passions of the multitude. He omitted nothing that could serve his cause; by fraud, by entreaty, by every artifice, he tried to allure the wavering, and to animate the brave. By rapid marches

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he soon reached the neighbourhood of Seleucia, at the head of a powerful army.

Tiridates, alarmed at the news of his approach, and soon after terrified at his actual presence, began to deliberate about the measures in that exigence fittest to be pursued. Should he try the issue of a battle, or draw the war into length? In his councils there was nothing like decision. The officers of warlike spirit were for a sudden blow, while the rash levies of Artabanus, out of heart, fatigued by their march, and not yet united by principle, had as yet no affection for a king whom they had so lately deposed. Traitors yesterday, they were now no better than pretended friends. Abdageses was of a contrary opinion. To retreat into Mesopotamia was, in his judgment, the safest measure. Having gained the opposite side of the river, Tiridates might there stand at bay, till the Armenians, the Elymæans, and other nations in their rear, had time to take the field. Succours might be expected from the Roman general. When their forces were all assembled, it would then be time to hazard a battle. This measure was adopted. Abdageses was high in authority,

and the unwarlike genius of Tiridates shrunk from danger. Their retreat had the appearance of an army put to the rout. The consequences were fatal. The Arabs were the first to abandon Tiridates: a general defection followed. Some betook themselves to their native home, and others went over to the standard of Artabanus. Tiridates, with a handful of men, passed into Syria, and by his conduct made the apology of all who deserted his cause. None had reason to blush for betraying a man, who betrayed himself.

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XLV. In the course of this year a dreadful fire broke out at Rome, and laid mount Aventine, with part of the adjoining circus, in ashes. Tiberius had the address to turn this calamity to his own glory. He ordered the value of the houses and insulated mansions *(a)*, which were destroyed, to be paid to the respective owners. The sum amounted to no less than one hundred thousand great sesterces. The munificence of the prince was the more applauded, as building for his own use was not his taste. The temple of Augustus, and Pompey's theatre, were his only public structures. When both were finished,

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he did not so much as think of dedicating them; perhaps to shew his contempt of fame; perhaps because old age had sunk his vigour. To estimate the damage sustained by each individual, his four sons-in-law were appointed, namely, Cneius Domitius, Cassius Longinus, Marcus Vinicius, and Rubellius Blandus. At the desire of the consuls, Publius Petronius was added to the commission. Public honours were decreed to the emperor with all the variety that adulation could suggest. Which were acceptable, and which rejected, is uncertain; since he was then near his end, and perhaps never declared his mind.

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In a short time after, Cneius Acerronius and Caius Pontius entered on the consulship, and it was their lot to close the reign of Tiberius. Macro was, at this time, in the zenith of his power. He had been assiduous in paying his court to Caligula; and now, when he saw the emperor declining fast, his zeal for the young prince became every day more conspicuous. In a short time after the death of Claudia *(b)*, who had been married to Caligula, he made his own wife, Ennia, throw out the lure for his affections, till she obtained

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a promise of marriage. In this she found no difficulty. Caligula wished for nothing so much as an opportunity to seize the sovereign power: and, to second his ambition, there was no project which he was not ready to embrace. The ferocity of his nature left him little time for reflection, and the violence of his passions clouded his understanding: he had studied under his grandfather, and in that school acquired the arts of dissimulation.

XLVI. The character of Caligula did not escape the penetrating eye of Tiberius. Hence his irresolution on the important point of naming a successor *(a)*. His grandsons naturally were present to his mind. The heir of his son Drusus was the nearest in blood, and natural affection spoke in his favour: but the prince was still of tender years. Caligula had attained the prime of manhood; but he was the son of Germanicus, and, for that reason, a favourite of the people; both strong motives to excite the aversion of Tiberius. Claudius was not entirely overlooked. His time of life rendered him fit for that exalted station, and he had shewn a taste for the liberal arts; but he wanted vigour of mind: nature had given

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him talents, but withheld the power of using them with any solid advantage. In this perplexity Tiberius weighed every circumstance, but still could form no resolution. To name a person who was not of the imperial family, were to degrade the memory of Augustus, and leave the house of Cæsar exposed to the contempt of posterity. This, in all events, he was determined to avoid, not with a view to present fame, for that had long since ceased to be his passion, and yet he wished to preserve the glory of an illustrious line, and transmit it unimpaired to future ages.

At length, fatigued with thinking, and growing every day weaker, he left to chance what he had not vigour to decide. He had, notwithstanding, some foreknowledge of what was to happen after him. From certain expressions that fell from him this may be collected. His reproach to Macro, "that he "turned from the setting to the rising sun," was neither dark nor equivocal. He said to Caligula, who, on some occasion, treated the character of Sylla with contempt and ridicule, "You will have the vices of that great man, "without one of his virtues." In a short time

after, while with tears of affection he clasped in his arms the youngest *(b)* of his grandsons, he observed the stern countenance of Caligula, and calmly told him, "You will kill this boy, "and fall yourself by some other hand." Tiberius was now declining fast, and yet, in that decay of nature, he abated nothing from his usual gratifications. Dissembling to the last, he endured every encroachment on his constitution with calm composure. Patience, he thought, would pass for vigour. To ridicule the practice of physic *(c)*, and make a jest of all who, after thirty, did not understand their own constitutions, had been long the bent of his humour.

XLVII. At Rome, in the mean time, prosecutions were set on foot to terminate in blood after the death of Tiberius. Acutia, formerly the wife of Publius Vitellius *(a)*, was charged on the law of violated majesty by Lælius Balbus. She was condemned; but the decree, by which the senate adjudged a recompence to the prosecutor, was suspended by the interposition of Junius Otho, the tribune of the people. From that moment Vitellius and Otho became open enemies. Fierce con-

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tentions followed, and, at last, ended in the banishment of Otho. Albucilla, a woman famous for the variety of her intrigues, and her marriage with Satrius Secundus *(b)* (the man who informed against Sejanus), was charged with a conspiracy against the prince. Cneius Domitius, Vibius Marsus, and Lucius Arruntius, were all three involved in the same prosecution, being, as was alleged, connected in a course of adultery with Albucilla, and, by consequence, accomplices in all her crimes. The illustrious birth of Domitius has been already mentioned. Marsus derived great splendour from his ancestors, and was, besides, in an eminent degree adorned with literature. In the state of the proceedings laid before the senate, it appeared that Macro presided at the examination of the witnesses, and saw the slaves put to the question; but no letter on the subject arrived from Tiberius. Hence a strong suspicion, that Macro taking advantage of the feeble state of his master, seized the opportunity to wreak his malice on Arruntius, whom he was known to prosecute with inveterate hatred.

XLVIII. Domitius, relying on his de-

fence, employed himself in the necessary preparation. Marsus gave out that he was resolved to end his days by famine. The artifice saved both their lives. The friends of Arruntius tried all their influence and their best advice. They entreated him to protract the time by studied delays. Arruntius answered with firmness: "The same part cannot, with "propriety, be acted by all characters. What "is honourable in one, may be unworthy in "another. As to myself, I have lived long "enough, nay, too long, and to my own dis-"grace. For that, and that only, I now re-"proach myself. I have lingered in life, "amidst surrounding dangers; I have dragged "a weary old age, exposed to the proud man's "insult, and the malice of pernicious minis-"ters; hated at first by Sejanus, and now by "Macro; in every stage of life obnoxious to "lawless power. My enemies had no crime "to lay to my charge, unless it be a crime to "detest evil men, and evil measures. Life is "no longer worth my care: it may, indeed, "be prolonged beyond the term that seems to "remain for Tiberius: but from a youthful "tyrant, ready to seize the commonwealth as "his prey, what shield can guard me? In

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"despotic power there is a charm that can "poison the best understanding. Of this truth "Tiberius is an example. And is it to be ex- "pected that Caligula, scarce yet arrived to "the state of manhood, a novice in business, "with a mind trained up in the most per- "nicious maxims, will, under such a guide as "Macro, pursue better measures? Macro will "direct his councils; that very Macro, who, "for his pre-eminence in guilt, was selected to "work the downfall of Sejanus. Since that "time, what has been his character? He has "been the scourge, the oppressor of the com- "monwealth. A period of calamity, more "dreadful than what we have seen, is yet to "come: from the memory of the past, and the "pangs of future misery, I choose to make my "escape." Having, in this prophetic strain, delivered his sentiments, he opened his veins, and bled to death. That he acted with wis- dom, as well as courage, the times that fol- low will give ample proof.

Albucilla made an attempt on her own life; but the wound not proving mortal, she was, by order of the senate, hurried away to prison. The senate passed a decree against such as

were connected with her in adulterous practices. By that sentence, Grafidius Sacerdos, of prætorian rank, was banished to an island, and Pontius Fregellanus was expelled the senate. The like judgment was pronounced against Lælius Balbus, the fathers concurring with pleasure in the condemnation of a man, whose pernicious talents and overbearing eloquence were ever ready to work the ruin of truth and virtue.

XLIX. About the same time, Sextus Papinius *(a)*, a man descended from a family of consular rank, chose a mode of death both shocking and ignominious. He threw himself headlong from a precipice, and expired on the spot. The cause of this dreadful catastrophe was imputed to his mother. Having conceived an unnatural passion for her son, this woman, though often repulsed, still persisted to solicit his passions, and, at length, by alluring arts and the baits of luxury, reduced the young man to a situation, in which an act of despair was his only remedy. Being cited to appear before the senate, she threw herself at the feet of the fathers, and tried by every art to awaken compassion. The anguish of a

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parent, she said, pierced her to the quick, and the weakness of her sex was unequal to such a load of misery. She omitted nothing that could touch the heart, and mitigate resentment; but the fathers were inexorable. She was banished from Rome for ten years, that, in the mean time, her second son might pass the season of life, in which the young and tender mind is liable to seduction.

L. TIBERIUS now drew near his end: his strength declined, his spirits sunk, and every thing failed, except his dissimulation. The same austerity still remained, the same energy and rigour of mind. He talked in a decisive tone; he looked with eagerness; and even, at times, affected an air of gaiety. Dissembling to the last, he hoped by false appearances to hide the decay of nature. Weary, restless, and impatient, he could not stay long in one place. After various changes, he stopt at a villa, formerly the property *(a)* of Lucullus, near the promontory of Misenum. It was here first known that his dissolution was approaching fast. The discovery was made in the following manner. A physician, of the name of Charicles, highly eminent in his profession,

attended the train of Tiberius, not employed to prescribe, but occasionally assisting with friendly advice. Pretending to have avocations that required his attendance elsewhere, he approached the emperor to take his leave, and respectfully laying hold of his hand, contrived, in the act of saluting it, to feel his pulse. The artifice did not escape the notice of Tiberius. It probably gave him offence, but, for that reason, he smothered his resentment. With an air of cheerfulness, he ordered the banquet to be served, and, seemingly with intent to honour his departing friend, continued at table beyond his usual time. Charicles was not to be deceived. He saw a rapid decline, and assured Macro that two days, at most, would close the scene. For that event measures were immediately taken: councils were held in private, and dispatches were sent to the army, and the several commanders at their respective stations. On the seventeenth before the calends of April, Tiberius had a fainting fit: he lay for some time in a state of languor, speechless, without motion, and was thought to be dead. A band of courtiers surrounded Caligula, eager to pay their court, and all congratulating the prince on

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his accession to the imperial dignity. Caligula was actually going forth to be proclaimed emperor, when word was brought, that Tiberius was come to himself, and called for a cordial to revive his fainting spirits. The whole party was struck with terror: the crowd dispersed; some with dejected looks, others with a cheerful mien, as if unconscious of what had happened. Caligula stood at gaze, astonished, and almost out of his senses. He had, but a moment before, one foot on the throne, and now was thrown from the summit of his ambition. He remained fixed in despair, as if awaiting the stroke of death. Macro alone was undismayed. With firmness and presence of mind, he cleared the emperor's room, and gave orders that the remains of life should be smothered under a load of clothes. Such was the end of Tiberius, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

LI. He was the son of Tiberius Nero; by the paternal and maternal line of the house of Claudius, though his mother passed by adoption into the Livian, and afterwards into the Julian family. The beginning of his days was clouded with misfortunes, and exposed to

various perils. In his infancy, he was torn away from Rome, and forced to wander with his father, then on the list of the proscribed. When a marriage took place between Livia and Augustus, he was introduced into the imperial house, but had to contend with powerful rivals, as long as Marcellus, Agrippa, and the two Cæsars, Caius and Lucius, flourished at the court of Augustus. In the eyes of the people, his brother Drusus overshadowed him. By his marriage with Julia, his situation was rendered still more embarrassing. Whether he connived at her vices, or abandoned her in resentment, the dilemma was, either way, full of difficulty. Being recalled from the isle of Rhodes, he found Augustus deprived of heirs, and from that time continued for twelve years, without a rival, the hope and pillar of the imperial family. He succeeded to the empire, and governed Rome near three-and-twenty years. His manners, like his fortune, had their revolutions, and their distinctive periods; amiable *(a)*, while a private man; and, in the highest employments under Augustus, esteemed and honoured. During the lives of Drusus and Germanicus, he played an artificial character, concealing his vices, and as-

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suming the exteriors of virtue. After their decease, and while his mother lived, good and evil were equally blended in his conduct. Detested for his cruelty, he had the art, while he loved or feared Sejanus, to throw a veil over his most depraved and vicious appetites. All restraint being at length removed, he broke out without fear or shame, and, during the remainder of his life, hurried away by his own unbridled passions, made his reign one scene of lust, and cruelty, and horror.

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

NOTES

ON

THE THIRD, FOURTH, FIFTH, AND SIXTH BOOKS

OF

THE ANNALS.

NOTES

ON

THE THIRD BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(*a*) THE two children of Germanicus probably were, Caligula, who, according to Suetonius, accompanied his father into the East; and Julia, who was born in the isle of Lesbos. See book ii. s. 54.

Section II.

(*a*) These were Nero and Drusus, Agrippina and Drusilla. But it is not probable that the two daughters went so far to meet their father's funeral.

Section III.

(*a*) For the character of Antonia, see Supplement to book v. s. 27; and see the Genealogical Table, No. 42.

Section VI.

(*a*) The Romans called themselves the masters of the world, and wherever their legions could penetrate, the nations owned their superiority. The ambassadors

sent to Rome by Pyrrhus being asked, at their return, what they thought of the Romans? The city, they said, appeared to be a temple, and the senate a convention of kings. Florus, lib. i. cap. 18. Cicero, in the Oration *pro domo suâ*, calls the Roman people the masters of kings, the conquerors and commanders of all other nations. *Ille, ille populus est dominus regum, victor atque imperator omnium gentium.*

(*b*) Julia was the daughter of Julius Cæsar by his wife Cornelia. See the Genealogical Table, No. 6.

(*c*) The *Megalesian* games were so called from μεγαλη θεα, the great goddess, or *magna mater*. They were celebrated in the month of April, and lasted seven days. Germanicus died in the preceding month of November. The grief of the people at Rome was so violent, that even the *Saturnalian* games, which were towards the end of December, could not put a stop to the general sorrow. See Suet. in Calig. s. 6. The mourning, we find from Tacitus, continued to the month of April following.

Section IX.

(*a*) Now the Gulf of Venice.

Section X.

(*a*) For an account of these suspicions, see Suetonius in Tib. s. 52.

Section XIV.

(*a*) The *Gemoniæ Scalæ* were a flight of steps at the bottom of the Capitoline Hill, where the bodies of malefactors were exposed, and then dragged by a hook fixed in the throat, and thrown into the Tiber.

Section XVI.

(a) Piso had been joint consul with Augustus, A. U. C. 731, and afterwards with Tiberius, A U. C. 747.

Section XVII.

(a) Tiberius was willing to make the apology of a young man. He could not mean, in the latitude here laid down, that the son is bound in all cases to obey the father's orders. Quintilian has well observed, that parents are not to be obeyed in every thing. To receive benefits, he adds, would be highly dangerous, if by obligations men were bound to every kind of service. They would in that case be in the worst state of thraldom. *Non omnia præstanda parentibus. Alioquin nihil est perniciosius acceptis beneficiis, si in omnem nos obligant servitutem.* See Grotius De Jure Belli ac Pacis, lib. ii. cap. 26.

(b) In the time of the republic, the consul, who presided in the senate, put the question to the fathers in every debate; but he neither called upon his colleague, nor the prætors, nor any of the acting magistrates. He addressed himself to the prince of the senate, the consuls elect, and after them to the members of consular rank, and in regular succession to the rest of the senate. The reason of this arrangement seems to have been an idea that the magistrates, if they took the lead, would have too much influence on the rest of the assembly. After the change of government, the same practice continued, with this difference; if the emperor attended the debates in the senate, he, of course, was the supreme magistrate, and in that case it was his to collect the voices. He began with the consuls actually in office, and proceeded to the other magistrates according to their rank.

See a Dissertation, entitled, "The Roman Emperor in "the Senate;" Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxvii. 4to. edit.

Section XVIII.

(*a*) Julius Antonius was son to Antony the triumvir. He was found guilty of adultery with Julia the daughter of Augustus, and punished with death. Annals, book iv. s. 44.

(*b*) It is unnecessary to repeat, that Claudius was brother to Germanicus. He was at this time neglected and despised. See Suet. in Claud. s. 2; and see Supplement to book v. s. 24.

Section XIX.

(*a*) She was the daughter of Agrippa, married to Tiberius, and divorced from him. See Genealogical Table, No. 69.

Section XX.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

Section XXI.

(*a*) Appius Claudius, consul A. U. C. 259, commanded in the war against the *Volsci*. The soldiers, regardless of discipline and subordination, paid no respect to their officers, and, in consequence of their contumacy, suffered a defeat. As soon as they returned to their camp, Claudius punished the ring-leaders with death, and decimated the rest of his army. *Cætera multitudo, sorte decimus quisque, ad supplicium lecti.* Livy, lib. ii. s. 59. See als Polybius, book vi. cap. 2.

(*b*) A town in Numidia. See the Geographical Table.

Section XXII.

(a) Lepida's ancestors were allied to the Æmilian family. Faustus Sylla, son of the dictator, was her father; and Pompeia, daughter of Pompey the Great, was her mother. Suetonius says, *Condemnatam et generosissimam fœminam, Lepidam, in gratiam Quirini, consularis prædivitis et orbi, qui dimissam eam matrimonio, post vigesimum annum, veneni olim in se comparati arguebat.* Life of Tiberius, s. 49.

(b) There were at Rome four different ways of detaining the accused in custody: viz. the common jail; commitment to a military guard; commitment to the care of the consuls or other magistrates in their own houses, which Sallust, in Catilinâ, sect. xlvii. calls *liberas custodias;* and lastly, sureties for the person's appearance, which is what we call *being out upon bail.*

Section XXIII.

(a) The *Theatre* of Pompey, dedicated A. U. C. 699. For a further account of that magnificent structure, capable, according to Pliny, lib. xxxv. s. 15, of holding forty thousand persons, see Annals, book xiv. s. 20.

Section XXIV.

(a) Julia married to Agrippa, and their daughter Julia married to Lucius Æmilius Paulus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 46 and 52.

(b) Julius Antonius, for his adulterous connexion with Julia the daughter of Augustus, was put to death; and Silanus, for the like offence with Julia the granddaughter, was condemned to banishment. For Julius Antonius, see Annals, book iv. s. 44.

Section XXV.

(a) The law *Papia Poppæa* derived its name from the two consuls who were the authors of it; namely, Marcus Papius Mutilus, and Quintus Poppæus, A. U. C. 762; the ninth of the Christian æra. Dio observes, that the two consuls had neither wife nor children; and for that reason, a law which imposed penalties on celibacy, and rewarded the married state, was the more acceptable, because disinterested.

(b) In the time of the republic, laws were finally passed by the people, who were asked, Is it your will and order that this shall be a law? The question was called Rogatio. Cicero, in his Oration *pro domo suâ*, gives the form of words: *Velitis, jubeatis, Quirites, ut M. Tullio aqua et ignis interdicantur?* This being the manner of enacting laws, Rogatio and Lex became synonimous terms. Florus uses Rogatio in that sense, lib. iii. s. 17. Julius Cæsar passed several laws to encourage population, but without effect.

(c) The luxury of the times occasioned so much extravagance, that men did not choose the additional expence of rearing children. See Manners of the Germans, s. xviii. note *(f)*.

Section XXVI.

(a) It may be made a question, whether a period of pure simplicity and innocence ever existed? Seneca expatiates in praise of those times, epist. xc. and the poets have been lavish in their description of the golden age; but the history of mankind has no proofs of the fact. An ingenious writer says, Who were those men that lived in so much innocence? The first man who was

born in the world, killed the second. When did the times of simplicity begin?

Section XXVII.

(a) The two Gracchi were leaders of the popular party, in opposition to the senate and the patrician order. Tiberius Gracchus was the great factious demagogue, A. U. C. 621; his brother Caius adopted the same measures A. U. C. 633. See an account of them, Florus, lib. iii. cap. 14 and 15. See also the Dialogue concerning Eloquence, s. xviii. note *(d)*. Apuleius Saturninus endeavoured to enforce the laws of the Gracchi, and was killed in the contention, A. U. C. 654. See Florus, lib. iii. cap. 16.

(b) M. Livius Drusus was a grand corruptor in the name of the senate. He carried the arts of bribery beyond all former example. He died A. U. C. 663. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 17.

(c) Florus (lib. iii. cap. 18.) calls this the *Social War;* but as it involved all Italy, it is called by Tacitus the *Italic War*. It was in the year of Rome 663. The civil war, which followed, was between Marius and Sylla, A. U. C. 666. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 21.

(d) Sylla usurped the authority of dictator A. U. C. 672, and exercised those extraordinary powers till the year 675. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 21 and 23. He then abdicated the dictatorship, and died A. U. C. 676.

(e) Lepidus was for abrogating all the laws of Sylla. See Florus, lib. iii. s. 23.

(f) Sylla saw that the tribunes made an ill use of their power, and therefore reduced those magistrates within due bounds. Pompey, in his consulship, A. U. C. 684, re-established the tribunitian power.

Speaking of this act, Cicero says he was in the habit of mentioning Pompey, upon all occasions, with the highest commendation; but with regard to the tribunitian power, he chose to be silent. He was not willing to condemn that measure, and to approve was not in his power. *Pompeium nostrum cæteris rebus omnibus semper amplissimis summisque effero laudibus. De tribunitiâ potestate tacco; nec enim reprehendere libet, nec laudare possum.* Cicero De Legibus, lib. iii. cap. 9. The translation of what follows, it must be acknowledged, is not exact. The words are, *The public good was no longer thought of: new characters appeared, and new statutes were enacted.* The original says, *Jamque non modo in commune, sed in singulos homines latæ quæstiones.* The true meaning seems to be, Laws were made not for the public only, but also with a view to individuals. The last was against the spirit and positive institutions of the Roman republic. Laws respecting particular persons were called *Privilegium*, from *priva lex*, a private law, which was forbidden, says Cicero, De Legibus, lib. iii. cap. 4, by the Twelve Tables; *Privilegia ne irroganto;* and again, in the Oration *pro Domo suâ*, *Vetant leges sacratæ, vetant XII Tabulæ leges privatis hominibus irrogari; id est enim privilegium.* Cicero is more explicit and diffuse against particular laws in the case of individuals, in the Oration Pro Sextio, s. 30. They were not unlike the *ex post facto* laws, and bills of attainder, which have been heard of in this country, it is to be hoped, to revive no more.

Section XXVIII.

(a) Pompey's third consulship was A. U. C. 702; before the Christian æra 52. One of his rules was, that

no magistrate should be governor of a province, before the end of five years after the expiration of his office; and then he took upon himself the government of Spain for the additional term of five years. Dio, lib. xl.

(b) The twenty years of civil distraction are to be computed from the death of Pompey, A. U. C. 706. Augustus was consul for the sixth time, A. U. C. 726; before the Christian æra 28.

(c) Informers were encouraged, by the law of *Papia Poppæa*, to hold a strict watch over such as lived in a state of celibacy.

Section XXIX.

(a) Dio informs us, that while Augustus, after all his victories, was still absent from Rome, the senate, by a decree, established a new magistracy, consisting of twenty, to superintend the police and good government of the city. Their duty was divided into different departments: three to sit in judgment; three to direct the coinage; four to superintend the public ways; and ten to preside in such causes as were tried by the centumviri. The office was continued by Augustus, and became the previous step to the higher magistracies. The time for entering on the quæstorship was at the age of four-and-twenty; consequently Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, might begin his career of honours when turned of nineteen.

(b) Drusus, the son of Tiberius. He married *Livia* otherwise *Livilla*, the daughter of Drusus, who was brother to Tiberius. See the Genealogical Table, No. 70 and 71.

(c) Claudius, afterwards emperor, was brother to Germanicus. He had a son named Drusus, who died

very young. The intended marriage never took place. See the Genealogical Table, No. 102.

Section XXX.

(a) Sallustius Crispus, the minister privy to the death of Agrippa Posthumus, has been already mentioned, Annals, book i. s. 6. His gardens, and other articles of luxury, are described by Pliny, lib. vii. s. 16; and lib. xxxiv. s. 2.

Section XXXI.

(a) For more of Mamercus Scaurus, a man famous for his talents at the bar, but detested for his vicious course of life, see Annals, book vi. s. 29.

Section XXXII.

(a) It has been already mentioned that Augustus, having reserved some provinces for his own management, resigned the rest to the senate. Asia and Africa were in the number assigned to the fathers, and were always considered as consular governments. Two, who had discharged the office of consul, were named, and the province of each was decided by lot. That rule, however, was waved in sudden emergencies, and a proconsul was sent without any form of election or ballot.

Section XXXIII.

(a) Plancina, the wife of Piso.

(b) The tribunal where the consuls sat in judgment, was called Prætorium.

(c) Caius Oppius, tribune of the people A. U. C. 541, was the author of a law, by which the women were laid under several restrictions in the articles of dress and

other expences. That law was repealed, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of Cato the censor, A. U. C. 559. See Livy, lib. xxxiv. s. 38. But still it was thought necessary that the female sex should be held within due bounds, and other sumptuary laws were enacted.

Section XXXIV.

(a) For Corvinus Messala, who flourished in the time of Augustus, see the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. xii. note *(c)*.

(b) He was married to Livia, the sister of Germanicus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 71.

Section XXXVIII.

(a) Pliny the younger, in his panegyric on the emperor Trajan, says that neither the laws enacted in the consulship of Voconius, nor the Julian law, conduced so much to enrich the exchequer of the prince and the public treasury, as the charge of violated majesty, too often the only charge against those who were free from every crime. *Locupletabant et fiscum et ærarium non tam Voconiæ et Juliæ leges, quam majestatis singulare et unicum crimen eorum qui crimine vacarent.* Pliny, in Paneg. s. 42.

(b) It is probable that Antistius was a Roman by birth, who had settled in Macedonia, and there became a man of the first consequence.

Section XXXIX.

(a) Some of the commentators will have the person here mentioned, to be Velleius Paterculus the historian; but the prænomen Publius seems to denote a different man.

Section XLI.

(*a*) Being thought dead, some years afterwards, and laid on his funeral pile, he waked from his lethargy, but, for want of assistance, was consumed in the flames. Pliny, lib. vii. s. 52. Valerius Maximus, lib. i. cap. 8.

Section XLII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

Section XLIII.

(*a*) Visellius Varro commanded on the Lower Rhine, and Caius Silius on the Upper.

Section XLV.

(*a*) The Gauls, under the conduct of Brennus, stormed the city of Rome, A. U. C. 364; before the Christian æra 390. Livy, lib. v. s. 35. They fought no less than thirty battles with Julius Cæsar. Brotier, in his note on this passage, is at great pains to retrieve the fame of the ancient Gauls, who have been, in his opinion, too much neglected, and indeed consigned to oblivion, by the irruption of the Franks. But the Gauls, he says, were a great and powerful nation, while Rome, under Tarquinius Priscus, was yet in its infancy; and though the name of Franks has been adopted by his countrymen, yet the nature of the first inhabitants has not been extinguished. The Gallic mind, the Gallic genius, and the Gallic manners have been transmitted from age to age, insomuch, that what Julius Cæsar said of the people almost two thousand years ago, is true at this hour. So far Brotier. Those who are fond of researches into remote antiquity, and, as Doctor Goldsmith somewhere expressed it, who love to pursue the chase when the

dews of the morning have passed away, will find in Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. page 367, 8vo. edit. an elaborate history of the ancient Gauls. But whether in the history of those barbarous times, any thing can be found to equal the carnage, blood, and massacre, which have lately disgraced their descendants, and excited the horror and indignation of all Europe, may be made a question.

Section XLVIII.

(*a*) The same Quirinius who has been mentioned in this book, s. xxii.

Section LII.

(*a*) The particular instances of Roman luxury, and the wealth and profusion of individuals, would lead to a long digression. Apicius, and others of that class of epicures, are well known. Lucan has given a general account of the origin and progress of luxury :

Namque ut opes nimias mundo fortuna subacto
Intulit, et rebus mores cessêre secundis,
Prædaque et hostiles luxum suasere rapinæ,
Non auro tectisve modus ; mensasque priores
Aspernata fames; cultus gestare decoros
Vix nuribus, rapuêre mares ; fæcunda virorum
Paupertas fugitur, totoque accersitur orbe
Quo gens quæque perit. Longos tum jungere fines
Agrorum, et duro quondam sulcata Camilli
Vomere, et antiquos Curiorum passa ligones
Longa sub ignotis extendere rura colonis.

Pharsalia, lib. i.

Section LIII.

(*a*) Tiberius, who writes this letter to the senate, was so well known to be fond of his glass, that, instead of *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, he was called BIBERIUS CALDIUS MERO. But though he was addicted to wine, he shewed no disposition to the prevailing luxury of the times, till his excesses broke out in the isle of *Caprea*. What Tiberius says of the fashionable style of dress, common to both sexes, is confirmed in the passage above quoted from Lucan:

————Cultus gestare decoros
Vix nuribus, rapuêre mares.—

Horace describes a Roman lady in her silk dress from the isle of Coos, so thin, that it might be said to be transparent.

———— Cois tibi pæne videre est,
Ut nudam.

Pliny the elder tells us, that the men in the summer season did not blush to follow their example; and were so little inclined to wear the military breast-plate, that their very clothes were a burthen. *Non puduit has vestes usurpare etiam viros, levitatem propter æstivam. In tantum a loricâ gerendâ discessere mores, ut oneri sit etiam vestis.* Pliny, lib. xi. s. 23. See in this book, s. xxxiii. note *(a)*.

Section LV.

(*a*) The battle of Actium was A. U. C. 722. Galba was murdered A. U. C. 823.

Section LVI.

(*a*) Lipsius observes that Drusus, according to this

account, was six-and-thirty years of age. Tiberius was born A. U. C. 712, and was invested with the tribunitian power by Augustus A. U. C. 748.

Section LVIII.

(a) The death of Cornelius Merula deserves particular notice. He saw Marius and Cinna in possession of Rome, and the most illustrious citizens bleeding in one general massacre. He abdicated his office of consul, and, opening his veins, sprinkled with his blood the very altar where, in his character of priest of Jupiter, he had frequently offered up his prayers for the peace and happiness of his country. With his last breath he poured forth his execration of Cinna, and, having invoked the vengeance of the gods on that traitor's head, closed a life of honour and virtue. *Merula autem, qui se sub adventum Cinnæ consulatu abdicaverat, incisis venis superfusoque altaribus sanguine, quos pro salute reipublicæ Flamen Dialis precatus erat Deos, eos in execrationem Cinnæ partiumque ejus tum precatus, optime de republicæ meritum spiritum reddidit.* Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 22. This was A. U. C. 667. From that time no priest of Jupiter was appointed till the year of Rome 743, when Augustus revived the office. Dio, lib. liv. The interval was a space of seventy-six years.

Section LIX.

(a) The emperor was not only commander in chief of the armies of Rome, in his character of IMPERATOR, and the sole director of all civil business, by his tribunitian power; but he was also, as high pontiff, at the head of the religion of his country.

Section LX.

(*a*) For a full account of the origin and progress of sanctuaries, see Grotius, De Jure Belli ac Pacis, lib. ii. cap. 21. See also Spanheim, De Usu Numismatum, cap. ix.

Section LXII.

(*a*) Lucius Scipio conquered Antiochus A. U. C. 564. Mithridates was driven out of Asia by Lucius Sylla A. U. C. 670.

(*b*) The Persian monarchy was founded by Cyrus A. U. C. 195; before the Christian æra 559.

(*c*) Marcus Perperna conquered Aristonicus, who made an irruption into Asia A. U. C. 624. See Justin, lib. xxxvi. s. 4. Publius Servilius, in the year of Rome 679, conquered the pirates of Cilicia, and, after reducing the principal cities of their country, stormed the citadel called ISAURUS, and thence took the name of ISAURICUS. *Unde, conscius sibi magni laboris, Isaurici cognomen adamavit.* Florus, lib. iii. s. 6.

(*d*) For king Aerias, see History, book ii. s. 3.

Section LXIII.

(*a*) The *Venus Stratonicè* was so called after *Stratonicè*, grand-mother of *Seleucus II.* who mounted the throne of Syria A. U. C. 507. Whoever desires to know more about the worship paid to this goddess, will find a particular account in Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. p. 413, 4to. edit.

Section LXIV.

(*a*) All questions of war and peace, the suspension of hostilities and treaties of alliance, were referred to

their decision. *Fœderum, pacis, belli, induciarum oratores feciales judicesque sunto.* Cicero, De Legibus, lib. ii. s. 9.

Section LXVI.

(*a*) The original says, Etiam *pedarii senatores:* that is, the senators, who, when the sense of the assembly was taken *per discessionem*, i. e. *when the house divided*, walked over to the side of those with whom they agreed. This was, according to Sallust in Catil. *pedibus in sententiam ire.* Hence the verse of Laberius the satirist: A head without a tongue, is a pedestrian opinion. Caput sine linguâ, pedaria sententia est.

Section LXVII.

(*a*) Scipio Africanus accused Lucius Cotta A. U. C. 662. Cotta was acquitted, lest the weight and dignity of the prosecutor should be thought to influence the judges. See Valerius Maximus, lib. viii. cap. 1. Galba had been governor of a province of Spain, and was impeached by Cato the censor, A. U. C. 604. See Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 2; and Cicero, De Claris Orat. s. 23. Rutilius was a candidate for the consulship against Marcus Scaurus, A. U. C. 645. Being disappointed of his election, he accused the successful candidate, and was, in his turn, prosecuted by Scaurus. Cicero, De Clar. Orat. s. xxx.

(*b*) Seneca mentions Otho and Brutidius; Controversiæ, lib. ii. s. 9.

Section LXVIII.

(*a*) He was, in the time of Augustus, proconsul of Asia; a man of inordinate pride, and a cruel disposition.

It is said that three hundred men were put to death by his order in one day. Seneca, de Irâ, lib. ii. cap. 5.

(*b*) See the Geographical Table.

Section LXX.

(*a*) For more of Ateius Capito, see this book, s. lxxii.

Section LXXI.

(*a*) There had been at Rome a temple of the *Equestrian* Fortune, built by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, in memory of a signal victory obtained by him in Spain. Livy, lib. xl. s. 40; and lib. xlii. s. 10.

(*b*) The objection made by Metellus, was debated with great warmth in the senate, and also before the people. See Livy, lib. xxxvii. s. 51.

Section LXXII.

(*a*) It was built by Æmilius Paulus, who was consul A. U. C. 704. Cicero calls it a glorious structure. *Nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil gloriosius.* Ad Atticum, lib. iv. epist. 16.

(*b*) The public buildings erected by Taurus, Philippus, Balbus and others, are mentioned by Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 89; and more particularly by Suetonius, in Aug. s. xxix.

(*c*) Seneca says, with indignation, Who could bear to see the statue of Sejanus placed over the ashes of Pompey? a base perfidious soldier among the monuments of a great commander! *Quis non rumperetur, supra cineres Cneii Pompeii constitui Sejanum, et in monumentis maximi imperatoris consecrari perfidum militem?* De Consolat. cap. xxii.

Section LXXIII.

(*a*) Spartacus kindled up the servile war in Italy A. U. C. 681. He gained two important victories. Being defeated in a battle with Licinius Crassus, he died bravely sword in hand. See the account in Florus, lib. iii. cap. 20.

(*b*) Sertorius, and Mithridates king of Pontus, joined in a league against the Romans, A. U. C. 680. Florus, lib. iii. s. 5.

Section LXXIV.

(*a*) Sallust says, the Numidian huts, called *Mapalia* by the natives, were of an oblong form, with a curve on each side, somewhat resembling a ship. De Bell. Jugurth. s. xviii.

(*b*) When titles of honour were suppressed, the incentives of valour were extinguished, and military glory faded away.

Section LXXV.

(*a*) Asinius Saloninus was the son of Asinius Gallus, who has been already mentioned, s. viii. by Vipsania Agrippina, who had been the wife of Tiberius, and was mother of his son Drusus; of course he was grandson to Asinius Pollio, who for his victory over the Salonii, a people of Dalmatia, was called SALONINUS. The grandson enjoyed the title of his grandfather. He was also grandson to Agrippa by his mother's side. See the Genealogical Table, No. 69.

(*b*) Ateius Capito has been already mentioned in this book. s. lxx. He was consul A. U. C. 759; of the Christian æra 5. He succeeded Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius for the remainder of their

year, and his name, therefore, does not appear in the *Fasti Consulares*.

(*c*) Antistius Labeo is mentioned with honour in several passages of the Digest. He was one of those men, whose singularities are forgiven on account of their talents and their virtues. His father, an ardent and zealous republican, resolved, after the battle of Philippi, not to survive the loss of public liberty. He was dispatched by his own command, by one of his domestics, whom he enfranchised, that he might not die by the hand of a slave. Appian, lib. iv. The son adopted the principles of his father. He thought, spoke, and acted, upon all occasions, with a republican spirit. Augustus knew his character, and yet respected him. We are told by Pomponius, the civilian, Digest I, tit. ii. s. 47, that the consulship for part of the year was offered to him and rejected. It is probable, that perceiving the state-craft, by which the consular authority was abridged, and, by consequence, impaired, Labeo disdained to be the time-serving consul of the court. Aulus Gellius (lib. xiii. cap. 12) has preserved a fragment of a letter, in which Capito says of his rival, that he was a man almost frantic with the love of liberty. *Agitabat hominem libertas quædam nimia et vecors.* Noctes Atticæ, lib. xiii. cap. 12. The favourite at the court of Augustus might naturally enough pronounce that judgment. And yet we find that the obsequious Capito could, in the reign of Tiberius, imitate the blunt freedom of his rival. Being told that a word, coined by Tiberius in one of his speeches, was legitimate Latin, or, if it was not, that it would soon become so: That, said Capito, is false; for you, Cæsar, can give the freedom of the city to men, but not to words. *Certe jam*

mentitur, inquit Capito: Tu enim, Cæsar, civitatem dare potes hominibus, verbis non potes. Suetonius, De Illustr. Grammat. cap. xxii.

Section LXXVI.

(*a*) Junia was the daughter of Decimus Junius Silanus by Servilia, the sister of Cato of Utica. Servilia was first married to M. Junius Brutus, and by him was the mother of Brutus, who stabbed Julius Cæsar. Junia was, of course, niece to Cato, and half-sister to Brutus. She married Cassius, the friend of Brutus; and thus descended, and thus allied, the sister of one conspirator against Cæsar, and the widow of another, she lived unmolested in the full enjoyment of wealth and honour, to an extreme old age. The battle of Philippi was fought A. U. C. 712. From that time to the year of Rome 775, a period of sixty-three years complete, Junia possessed splendid riches, and was buried at last with all the honours of a public funeral. The moderation of Augustus protected her, and the cruelty of Tiberius was not yet unchained.

(*b*) The constitution being overturned, the assertors of public liberty were not displayed; but, as Tacitus elsewhere says, the honour which was denied increased their glory. *Negatus honor gloriam intendit.* Annals, book iv. s. 26.

NOTES

ON

THE FOURTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(*a*) SEE the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Velleius Paterculus the historian, who lack-eyed at the feet of Sejanus, says that the father was the chief of the Roman knights. Nothing more is known of him.

(*c*) There were three famous epicures of the name of Apicius: one mentioned by Athenæus; a second, in the time of Augustus and Tiberius; and a third, in the reign of Trajan. The second is the person here intended. Seneca says of him, In that city, from which the teachers of philosophy were banished, this man, professing the science of the kitchen, corrupted the manners of the age, by his skill in cookery. *Apicius nostrâ memoriâ vixit, qui in eâ urbe, ex quâ philosophi, ut corruptores juventutis, abire jussi sunt, scientiam popinæ professus, disciplinâ suâ sæculum infecit.* Seneca, De Consolatione. Finding himself, after a long course of profusion and gluttony, much involved in debt, and, after satisfying all demands, not worth more than what may be called 100,000*l.* he finished his days by a dose

of poison. Seneca in the place above quoted. For the sake of an anecdote, perhaps little known, it may be proper to mention, that there is extant, in the Latin language, a book, importing to be Apicius's Art of Cookery. La Bletterie relates as a certain fact, that Madame Dacier and her husband were almost killed by this book. They found in it a receipt for a particular *ragout*, and being both inclined to dine classically, they were almost poisoned by their learned bill of fare.

(*d*) The pernicious consequences which attended the rise of Sejanus, will be seen in the sequel. His ruin was equally the cause of public calamity; since Tacitus tells us, that Tiberius, while he loved or feared this favourite minister, restrained his passions, but afterwards broke out with unbounded fury. Annals, book vi. s. 51.

(*e*) Assumed and well-acted virtues are often more dangerous than the worst vices. Addison's Cato says of Julius Cæsar,

Curse on his virtues! they've undone his country.

Section II.

(*a*) The original says, *inter principia legionum*. The same expression often occurs in Tacitus, and requires an explanation. Between the tents of the legions and the tribunes, a space of a hundred feet in breadth was left, which formed a large street, called PRINCIPIA, that ran across the whole camp, and divided it into two parts, the upper and the lower. Duncan's Cæsar, vol. i. The Roman Art of War.

Section III.

(*a*) Drusus, and the three sons of Germanicus, Nero, Drusus, and Caligula,

(*b*) She was sister to Germanicus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 71.

(*c*) Pliny the elder gives a dark picture of the physicians of his time. They had their opportunities to administer poison, to make wills, and manage intrigues. *Quid enim venenorum fertilius? aut unde plures testamentorum insidiæ? Jam vero et adulteria in principum domibus, ut Eudemi in Liviâ Drusi Cæsaris.* Lib. xxix. s. 8.

Section VI.

(*a*) He was then fourteen years of age.

(*b*) In the time of Tiberius, Syenè, a city strongly garrisoned, at the farther extremity of Egypt, was the boundary of the Roman empire. Trajan enlarged the limits as far as the Red Sea. See book i. s. xi. note (*b*); and book ii. s. lxi. note (*b*).

Section V.

(*a*) The two seas were, Mare Adriaticum, the Adriatic, now the Gulf of Venice; Mare Tyrrhenum, now the Tuscan Sea. The former was also called *Mare superum;* the latter *Mare inferum.* Virgil says,

An mare quod supra memorem, quodque alluit infra.

Misenum, now *Capo di Miseno,* was a promontory in the Tuscan sea; Ravenna was a port in the Adriatic. See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) In Upper and Lower Germany, according to the plan of Augustus. See the Manners of the Germans, s. i. note (*a*).

(*c*) Juba's father was king of Numidia. He attached himself to Pompey's party, and took a decided part against Julius Cæsar. Even after the death of Pompey,

he stood at bay with Cæsar, and, at length, received a total overthrow in the battle of Thapsa. Determined, however, not to fall into Cæsar's hands, he retired with Petreius, his fellow sufferer, and, at the close of a banquet, fell a voluntary victim by the hand of a friend. His son Juba was led to Rome, to walk in Cæsar's triumph. He was educated at the court of Augustus, and distinguished himself by his talents and his literature. Augustus gave him in marriage the young Cleopatra, daughter of the famous Cleopatra by Marc Antony, and sent him (Numidia being then a Roman province) to reign in Mauritania, A. U. C. 724. For Mauritania, see the Geographical Table.

(*d*) Annals, book ii. s. 67.

(*e*) We are told by Dio, lib. lv. that the establishment under Augustus was ten thousand prætorians, divided into ten cohorts, and six thousand in the city cohorts. The number, therefore, was reduced by Tiberius.

(*f*) For Etruria, Umbria, and ancient Latium, see the Geographical Table.

(*g*) Besides their fleets for the sea service, the Romans had always proper armaments on the Rhine and the Danube.

Section VI.

(*a*) The vile abuse of the law of violated majesty has been mentioned, book iii. s. xxxviii. note (*a*). The first men in Rome were victims to it. In Shakespear's language, *It was a net to enmesh them all.* It will not be amiss to remark, that if we except, as Tacitus does, that single grievance, the description of the nine first years of Tiberius is a more just and better founded pa-

negyric, than can be found in the glittering page of Velleius Paterculus, or any other professed encomiast. And yet this is the historian whom certain critics have called a painter in dark colours, who loves to represent men worse than they are.

Section VII.

(*a*) Drusus, the son of Tiberius, cut off by Sejanus, as will be seen in the sequel.

(*b*) The statue of Sejanus was placed in Pompey's theatre. See book iii. s. 72. His daughter was also to be married to Drusus, the son of Claudius, afterwards emperor. For Drusus, see the Genealogical Table, No. 102.

Section VIII.

(*a*)The discovery was made by Lygdus A. U. C. 784. See this book, s. xi; and book v. supplement, s. 38.

Section IX.

(*a*) Attus Clausus, by birth a Sabine, went in the train of followers to settle at Rome, A. U. C. 250. He was well received, and from time called Appius Claudius, the founder of the Claudian race. Livy, lib. ii. s. 16. Annals, book xi. s. 24.

Section XI.

(*a*) This passage affords a proof of the historian's integrity.

Section XII.

(*a*) Seneca represents Tiberius with an inflexible countenance delivering a speech that melted the audience into tears. He adds, by this firmness, so singular

on such an occasion, Tiberius proved to Sejanus, who stood at his elbow, that he could see unmoved the desolation of his family. *Experiendum se dedit Sejano ad latus stanti, quam patienter posset suos perdere.* Consol. ad Marciam, s. xv. About four or five months after the death of Drusus, deputies arrived from *Ilium* to condole with Tiberius: And I, he said, condole with you for the loss of Hector. Suet. in Tib. s. liv.

Section XIII.

(*a*) For *Cibyra* and *Ægium*, see the Geographical Table.

(*b*) See Annals, book i. s. 53. For *Cercina*, see Geographical Table.

(*c*) Lucius Apronius has been mentioned, book iii. s. 21. For Ælius Lamia, see Annals, book vi. s. 27.

Section XIV.

(*a*) The assembly of the *Amphictyones* was the grand council, or national convention of Greece. Whether it was founded by *Amphictyon* the son of *Deucalion*, or by *Acrisius*, according to Strabo's opinion, is a question covered by the clouds that hang over remote ages. The confederate cities of Greece sent their representatives to this general assembly, which, at different periods, underwent various changes, some cities renouncing the league, and others being admitted. *Pausanias*, who lived in the time of *Antoninus Pius*, assures us, that the *Amphictyons* were then entire, and that the number was thirty, being delegated from the cities which he enumerates. The assembly had every year two set meetings; one in the spring at *Delphos*, and the other in the autumn at *Thermopylæ*. See Potter's Antiquities, vol. i.

page 89; and also the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. iii. and v.

(*b*) While Rome was made a theatre of blood by Marius and Sylla, Mithridates, king of Pontus, committed a general massacre of the Roman citizens throughout Asia, A. U. C. 666; before the Christian æra 88.

(*c*) The *Oscan* Farce (called also the *Atellan Fable*, from *Atella*, a town in Campania) was invented by the *Osci*, a people originally of Etruria, but finally settled in Campania. Livy, lib. vii. s. 2. See also Vossius.

Section XV.

(*a*) He was about four years old. See book ii. s. 84. See the Genealogical Table, No. 72 and 73.

(*b*) The censorian funeral was the highest honour that could be paid to the deceased. The purple robe, and other *insignia*, distinguished it from a public funeral. See Polybius, lib. vi,

(*c*) He was mentioned, Annals, book iii. s. 66.

Section XVI.

(*a*) Three forms of contracting marriage prevailed at Rome. 1. When a woman cohabited with one man for the space of a year. 2. When the marriage was a kind of bargain and sale between the parties, which was called *coemptio*. 3. When the chief pontiff, distributing flour in the presence of ten witnesses, joined the bride and bridegroom. This was called marriage by CONFARREATION. Other marriages were easily dissolved; but that by confarreation required the same solemnities (*Diffarreatio*) to divorce the parties. See Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. page 427.

Section XX.

(*a*) What law this was is not agreed among the commentators; but as Tacitus says that Silius was tried on the *Lex Majestatis*, Lipsius thinks that was the law cited on this occasion.

(*b*) Manius Lepidus has been already mentioned, book i. s. 13; book iii. s. 50. For more of him, see Annals, book vi. s. 27.

(*c*) The word *immutable* is inserted in the translation, perhaps improperly; since Tacitus, who points out the safest course to steer, does not seem to admit an inevitable fate.

Section XXI.

(*a*) Calpurnius Piso has been mentioned, much to his honour, book ii. s. 34.

(*b*) Cassius Severus was an orator of eminence, and a virulent libeller of the first persons of both sexes. He was banished by Augustus. For more of him, see the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. xix. note (*a*).

(*c*) Seriphus, a small island in the Ægean sea. See the Geographical Table. Juvenal says,

——Et parvâ tandem caruisse Seripho.
SAT. vi. ver. 563.

And in Satire x.

Ut Gyari clausus scopulis, parvâque Seripho.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) The three statues were, for Furius Camillus, book ii. s. 52; L. Apronius, book iii. s. 21; Junius Blæsus, book iii. s. 72.

(*b*) Ptolemy was the son of Juba, who was made king

of Mauritania by Augustus. See this book, s. v. note (*c*). He was put to death by Caligula A. U. C. 792. Suet. in Calig. s. 26.

(*c*) See the Geographical Table.

(*d*) In general, when Africa occurs, Tacitus intends the Roman province, now the *kingdom of Tunis*.

Section XXV.

(*a*) A castle in Numidia, now totally destroyed.

Section XXVI.

(*a*) Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions the same presents sent to Porsena by the Roman senate, A. U. C. 249. Painted robes occur frequently in Homer, and (according to Pliny, lib. viii. s. 48) were used afterwards as triumphal ornaments.

Section XXVII.

(*a*) When Julius Cæsar was joint consul with Marcus Bibulus, the patricians, with the approbation of Cato, agreed to assign the departments of smallest consequence, such as woods and roads (*sylvæ callesque*) to the care of the new consuls. Suet. in Jul. Cæs. s. 19.

(*b*) The slaves, increasing in consequence of luxury, began to out-number the free-born citizens.

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) We have seen Vibius Serenus, the father, who had been proconsul in Spain, banished to the island of Amergos. This book, s. xiii.

Section XXIX.

(*a*) The populace threatened the *Robur*, which was the dark dungeon; the *Saxum*, or the *Tarpeian Rock*,

from which the malefactors were thrown headlong down: and the pains and penalties of parricides, described by Cicero in his Oration Pro Roscio Amerino, s. xxvi.

(*b*) For the iniquitous proceedings against Libo, see book ii. s. 27.

Section XXX.

(*a*) When the person accused was found guilty, the fourth part of his estate and effects went to the prosecutors; but if he prevented judgment by a voluntary death, his property descended to his heirs; and, in that case, the emperor paid his harpies out of the *fiscus*, the imperial exchequer, that is, out of his own coffers. Tiberius felt the burthen of so heavy an expence, and for that reason opposed the motion.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) Suillius was accused by Seneca in the reign of Nero. In return he declaimed with virulence against the philosopher; but, in the end, was banished to one of the Balearic islands, and there ended his days. Annals, book xiii. s. 43.

(*b*) Catus Firmius plotted the ruin of Libo. See book ii. s. 27.

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) This passage merits more consideration than can be compressed into a note. It will not, however, be amiss to offer a few remarks. It is admitted, that the three original forms of government, namely, Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, when taken separately, are all defective. Polybius assigns the reason. Monarchy, he says, though conducted according to right reason, will in time degenerate into Despotism.

Aristocracy, which means a government of the best men, will be converted into an OLIGARCHY, or the tyranny of a few. Democracy, in its original and purest sense, implies a system, under which the people, trained to the ancient manners of their country, pay due worship to the gods, and obey the laws established by common consent: but such a government is soon changed into tumult, rude force and anarchy. *For when once the people, accustomed to notions of equality, pay neither rent nor taxes, and commit depredations on their neighbours; if, at such a time, some desperate incendiary should arise, whose poverty has shut him out from all the honours of the state; then commences the government of the multitude, who run together in tumultuous assemblies, and are hurried into every kind of violence; assassinations, banishments, and divisions of lands, till they are reduced at last to a state of savage anarchy.* See Hampton's Polybius, vol. ii. chap. I. And yet Tacitus saw, that the three original forms might be moulded into a beautiful system: but he despaired of ever seeing it established, and he gives his opinion, that it cannot last long. That opinion, however, has been long since refuted. The government of KING, LORDS, and COMMONS, has been the pride of Englishmen, and the wonder of all Europe, during several centuries. Tacitus, with his usual brevity, said less than he thought; but the reason on which he founded his opinion, probably, was, because in all the popular governments then known in the world, the people acted in their collective body; and, with Polybius, Tacitus saw the fatal consequences. He had no idea of a people acting by representation. It is that circumstance, and the wise regulations of our

ancestors, that have made in this country *the according music of a well-mixed state.*

(*b*) The forms of the republican government were still preserved; the magistrates retained their ancient names; *eadem magistratuum vocabula;* but the emperor presided over the whole military department, and his tribunitian power gave him the sole direction of all civil business.

Section XXXIV.

(*a*) Suetonius says, a poet was prosecuted for verses against Agamemnon; and an historian (meaning *Cordus)* for calling BRUTUS AND CASSIUS THE LAST OF THE ROMANS. The authors were put to death, and their writings suppressed, though they had been read to Augustus, and approved by that emperor. Suet. in Tib. s. 61. Seneca, in his Essay on Consolation, to Marcia, the daughter of Cremutius Cordus, says, her father was not put to death for praising Brutus and Cassius, but for his keen reflections on Sejanus, and therefore fell a victim. De Consolat. ad Marciam, cap. xxii.

(*b*) We are told by Plutarch, that the Romans called Philopœmenes the last of the Greeks, as if, after his death, that nation had produced no illustrious character. See the Life of Philopœmenes.

(*c*) Publius Valerius, afterwards styled PUBLICOLA, was the author of a law, by which any person whatever, who had the ambition to aim at the supreme power, so lately abolished, should forfeit his head and all his effects. Livy, lib. ii. s. 8. Plutarch adds, in the Life of PUBLICOLA, that to kill the man who favoured royalty, was justifiable homicide, provided the guilt was clearly proved. And yet, notwithstanding this law,

Brutus and Cassius were called murderers and parricides.

Section XXXV.

(*a*) Seneca, de Consolatione ad Marciam, cap. xxii. gives a circumstantial account of his death. He was three days starving himself.

(*b*) Seneca says to Marcia, Sejanus gave your father as a donative or a largess to his creature *Satrius Secundus. Sejanus patrem tuum clienti suo Satrio Secundo congiarium dedit;* yet he was not able, with all his interest at court, to suppress the works of Cordus, though he procured an order to burn them by the public officer. Seneca praises Marcia for the filial piety that preserved the works of her father, and brought them into public notice after his death. He tells her, that by saving his writings she gave new life to the books, which he, who suffered death, may be said to have written in his blood. *Ingenium patris tui, de quo sumptum erat supplicium, in usum hominum reduxisti, et a verâ illum vindicasti morte, ac restituisti in publica monumenta libros, quos vir ille fortissimus sanguine suo scripserat.* He adds, that the memory of her father will live, as long as the Romans shall wish to review the history of their own affairs; as long as posterity shall desire to know the man, whose genius was unfettered, whose spirit was unconquered, and whose hand was ready to deliver himself from his enemies. *Cujus viget vigebitque memoria, quamdiu fuerit in pretio Romana cognosci; quamdiu quisquam velit scire, quid sit vir Romanus, indomitus ingenio, animo, manu liber.* Seneca, ad Marciam, cap. i. See more on this subject of burning books, Life of Agricola, s. ii. note (*c*).

Section XXXVI.

(*a*) The Latin festival was instituted by Tarquinius Superbus, and celebrated every year in the beginning of May, on the Mount *Albanus*, near the ruins of the city of Alba. Livy, lib. li. s. 16. The consuls and other magistrates went forth in procession; and, during their absence, a person of high rank was chosen to discharge the functions of consul, and preserve the peace of the city. See Annals, vi. s. 11. In conformity to this custom, we find Drusus acting on this occasion.

(*b*) The son who accused his father, this book, s. 28.

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) A sense of moral obligation is the true motive of virtue. Many who act from that principle *do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame*. This, however, is not a contempt of fame; it is a wish not to have it thought the spring of virtuous actions. With others, the love of fame is the sole incentive. Some pursue it, regardless of the rectitude of their conduct, but sensible of the value of a fair report in their commerce with the world. *Multi famam, pauci conscientiam verentur*. Others consider fame as the reward of a well-acted life, and know no other motive. The effect, in the last case, is finely described by Mr. Addison:

Honour's a sacred tie, the law of kings;
The noble mind's distinguishing perfection,
That aids and strengthens virtue, where it meets her,
And imitates her actions where she is not.
'Tis not to be sported with.

From the man who does sport with it, who despises fame, and has great talents, without one virtue, what can be expected?—Suspicion, cruelty, lust, and massacre.

Section XXXIX.

(*a*) She who conspired against her husband, Drusus. This book, s. iii.

(*b*) The custom was begun by Julius Cæsar, and continued by Augustus. Suetonius, in Aug. s. 84.

(*c*) The daughter of Sejanus was to have been married to Drusus, the son of Claudius. Annals, iii. s. 29. This book, s. 7.

(*d*) Julia, the daughter of Augustus.

Section XL.

(*a*) Antonia was her mother, and Livia, the widow of Augustus, was her grandmother. See the Genealogical Table. No. 71.

(*b*) Proculeius is mentioned to his honour by Horace.

> Vivet extento Proculeius ævo,
> Notus in fratres animi paterni.

(*c*) Some of the commentators have been at great pains to unravel this mysterious passage. He whose curiosity is excited by difficulty, and even sharpened by impossibility, may have the pleasure of toiling through an elaborate dissertation on this subject by La Bletterie. After all, the passage seems to be in the style which Tiberius loved and practised; dark and impenetrable. *Seu naturâ, sive adsuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba* Annals, book i. s. 11. Perhaps he meant to associate Sejanus with himself in the tribunitian power.

Section XLII.

(*a*) Montanus was an eminent orator, but too copious, and often redundant. Not content with a thought happily expressed, he recurred to it again; and wanting

to place it in a new light, he disfigured what was well said, and went on repeating and retouching the same thing, till he spoiled the whole. Scaurus called him the OVID of orators; observing at the same time, that to know when to leave off is an essential part of oratory, not less than the choice of proper expression. *Habet hoc Montanus vitium: dum non est contentus unam rem semel bene dicere, effecit ut ne bene dixerit. Propter hoc solebat Montanum Scaurus inter oratores Ovidium vocare. Aiebat Scaurus non minus magnam virtutem esse* SCIRE DESINERE, *quam scire dicere.* Seneca, Controvers. iv. cap. 28. Montanus was also a poet. Ovid says of him, that he excelled in heroic metre, and the tender elegy:

Quippe vel imparibus numeris, Montane, vel æquis
Sufficis, et gemino carmine nomen habes.

(*b*) Eusebius, in his Chronicon, says, he was banished to the Balearic Islands, and there finished his days. *Votienus Montanus, Narbonensis orator, in Balearibus insulis moritur, illuc a Tiberio relegatus.*

(*c*) There were two modes of expulsion from the city of Rome. One was *relegatio;* the other *exilium.* The former was a mere order of removal to a certain distance; but the person so punished did not forfeit his property, nor the freedom of the city. Banishment took away every right. Tiberius chose, on this occasion, to inflict the severest punishment.

(*d*) The *Album Senatorium* was a register of the senators published every year, according to a regulation of Augustus.

Section XLIII.

(*a*) Brotier says, as far as can be collected from Pau-

sanias, this temple was not far from the place now called *Zarnata, near the Gulf of Coron in the Morea.*

(b) Antigonus, king of Macedonia, died in the 4th year of the 139th Olympiad, A. U. C. 533.

(c) Lucius Mummius, conquerer of Corinth, A. U. C. 608.

(d) When Greece was reduced to subjection, the Romans gave to the whole country the general name of *Achaia.*

(e) A town in Sicily, now *Castel a Mare*, in the vale of *Mazara.* The temple of *Venus Erycina* was afterwards rebuilt by Claudius Suetonius, Life of Claudius.

(f) Publius Rutilius is called by Velleius Paterculus, the best man not only of his own time, but of any age whatever. He was banished, to the great grief of the city of Rome. *Publium Rutilium, virum non sæculi sui, sed omnis, ævi optimum, interrogatum lege repetundarum, maximo cum gemitu civitatis, damnaverant.* Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. s. 13. See Seneca, epist. lxxix.

Section XLIV.

(a) Lentulus was consul A. U. C. 740. For his victories over the Gætulians in Africa, he obtained triumphal ornaments. See Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 116. He was sent with Drusus into Pannonia, Annals, i. s. 27.

(b) Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus. His son Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus married Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and by her was father of Nero. See the Genealogical Table, No. 33 and No. 34.

(c) See the Memoirs of the House of Brandebourg, by the late king of Prussia. It is there said, but not on good authority, that the Romans never passed the *Elbe.*

(d) Julius Antonius, the father of Lucius, has been

already mentioned, Annals, iii. s. 18. See the Genealogical Table, No. 29 and No. 30.

Section XLV.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

Section XLVII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

Section LII.

(*a*) Domitius Afer, an orator highly commended by Quintilian. See Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. xiii. note (*d*).

(*b*) Sosia, the wife of Silius: this book, s. xix. and xx.

(*c*) Suetonius relates this, and says Tiberius never afterwards conversed with Agrippina. *Liberius quiddam quæstam, manu apprehendit, Græcoque versu,* SI NON DOMINARIS, *inquit,* FILIOLA, INJURIAM TE ACCIPERE EXISTIMAS. *Nec ullo post sermone dignatus est.* In Tib. s. 53.

(*d*) Quintilian has said the same thing of Domitius Afer; see Dialogue concerning Eloquence, in the Supplement, s. 8, note (*a*). The great critic advises all men of talents not to wait for the decays of age; but to sound a retreat in time, and anchor safely in port, before the vessel is disabled. The consequence, he says, will be, that the man of genius will enjoy a state of tranquillity, removed from scenes of contention, out of the reach of calumny, and will have, while he is still alive, a foretaste of his posthumous fame. *Antequam in has ætatis veniat insidias, receptui canet; et in portum integrâ nave perveniet. Ac, cum jam secretus, liber invidiâ,*

procul a contentionibus, famam in tuto collocavit, sentiet vivus eam, quæ post fata præstari magis solet, venerationem, et quid apud posteros futurus sit videbit. Quintilian, lib. xii. cap. 11.

Section LIII.

(*a*) She was the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina. See the Genealogical Table, No. 93. Pliny the elder commends her Memoirs, lib. vii. s. 8.

Section LIV.

(*a*) This is mentioned by Suetonius, in Tib. s. 53.

Section LV.

(*a*) The war with Perseus, king of Macedon, was A. U. C. 583. Aristonicus invaded Asia A. U. C. 623. From that time, that part of Asia was made a Roman province, and the vices of the East corrupted the Roman manners. *Asia Romanorum facta, cum opibus suis vitia quoque Romam transmisit.* Justin, lib. xxxvi. s. 4: Florus, lib. ii. s. 20.

(*b*) For these several people, see the Geographical Table.

(*c*) For Ilium, see the Geographical Table.

(*d*) For Halycarnassus, see the Geographical Table.

(*e*) Atys, the son of Hercules and Omphalè. Herodotus, lib. i.

Section LVI.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Cato, called the Censor, was consul A. U. C. 559.

(*c*) Carthage was destroyed by Scipio, A. U. C. 608.

Section LVII.

(*a*) Sejanus has been mentioned as the cause of the emperor's retreat. This book, s. 41.

(*b*) Suetonius, section 68, describes Tiberius large, robust, and of a stature above the usual size. Tacitus speaks of him when he was bent under the weight of years.

(*c*) Some physicians, have been of opinion that this was the venereal disease; but it is certain, that Europe knew nothing of that disorder before the discovery of the New World. Fracastorius has written an elegant Latin poem on the subject.

(*d*) Suetonius says, there was a current report, that Livia, incensed by the haughty carriage of her son, produced the letters of Augustus, complaining of the pride and arrogance of Tiberius. The production of those papers, at such a distance of time, was thought to be his principal reason for leaving Rome. Suet. in Tib. s. 51.

Section LVIII.

(*a*) Coccceius Nerva ended his days by abstinence A. U. C, 786, to withdraw himself from the horror of the times. Annals, book vi. s. 26. Brotier says, he was thought to be father of the emperor Nerva.

(*b*) He was afterwards ruined by Sejanus. See book vi. s. 10; see Ovid de Ponto, lib. ii. eleg. iv. and vii.

(*c*) These Greek attendants, and the cruelties inflicted upon them by Tiberius, are mentioned in Suetonius, s. 56; and see Annals v. in the Supplement, s. 42. There were also in his train a number of Chaldean astrologers, or mathematicians, as they chose to call themselves. Juvenal, sat. x. ver. 94.

Section LIX.

(*a*) This was in Campania, on the sea-coast, near *Terracina*. The villa, according to Brotier, is now called *Sperlonga*.

Section LX.

(*a*) Julia, the daughter of Drusus, son of Tiberius, by his wife Livia or Livilla. See the Genealogical Table, No. 71 and 74.

Section LXI.

(*a*) Asinius Agrippa, grandson to the famous Asinius Pollio, the friend of Augustus, was consul A. U. C. 778. See this book, s. 34.

(*b*) Haterius flourished in the time of Augustus. He was an eminent orator, but so copious and rapid, that the emperor compared him to a chariot that required a spoke in the wheels. *Haterius noster suffaminandus est.* Seneca, Controvers. lib. iv. in Præfatione. See also Seneca, epist. xl. Eusebius, in his Chronicon, says he lived to the age of ninety.

Section LXII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Under the gloomy reign of Tiberius, the people lost their favourite amusements, and, therefore, ran in crowds to the theatre and other spectacles, whenever an opportunity offered.

Section LXIII.

(*a*) Suetonius says, twenty thousand; in Tib. s. 40.

Section LXIV.

(*a*) One of the seven hills of Rome.

(*b*) Suetonius mentions this conflagration; in Tib. s. 48.

Section LXV.

(*a*) The origin of the *Tuscan Street* is accounted for in a different manner by Livy, lib. ii. s. 14.

Section LXVI.

(*a*) The son of Quinctilius Varus, who perished with his three legions in Germany. See the Genealogical Table, No. 98. The prosecution of Claudia Pulchra has been mentioned, this book, s. 52.

Section LXVII.

(*a*) The isle of Caprea lies at a small distance from the promontory of *Surrentum* (now *Cappo della Minerva*), and has the whole circuit of the bay of Naples in view. It is about four miles in length from east to west, and about one in breadth. See Addison's Description in his Travels in Italy.

(*b*) For the barbarity, with which Tiberius treated all that landed on the island without permission, see Suetonius, in Tib. s. 60; and see Annals, v. in the Supplement, s. 41.

(*c*) The eruption of Vesuvius happened in the reign of Titus, A. U. C. 832, A. D. 79. Pliny gives a description of it, lib. vi. epist. xvi. and xx.

(*d*) Tiberius fortified and fitted up for his residence twelve villas on the island, and gave to each the name of one of the gods. Suetonius mentions the *Villa Jovis*, in Tib. s. 65.

Section LXVIII.

(*a*) Sabinus has been already mentioned as a person

marked out for destruction by Sejanus. This book, s. xviii. and xix.

Section LXX.

(*a*) The original shortly says, *trahebatur damnatus;* but it is clear from the context, that he was hurried to execution. Dio says, he was dragged with a hook in his mouth to the *Gemoniæ* (the place where malefactors were exposed), and afterwards thrown into the Tiber. Pliny the elder relates a remarkable instance of the affection of Sabinus's dog. That faithful domestic followed his master to the prison, and afterwards, at the *Gemoniæ*, staid with the corpse, with pathetic cries and dismal howlings lamenting the loss. Food was offered to the dog; he took it, and held it to his master's mouth; and finally, when the body was thrown into the Tiber, that generous animal leaped into the water, and endeavoured to keep the remains of his master from sinking. *Cum animadverteretur, ex causâ Neronis Germanici filii, in Tilium Sabinum et servilia ejus, canem nec a carcere abigi potuisse, nec a corpore recessisse in gradibus Gemoniis, edentem ululatus, magnâ populi Romani coronâ; ex quâ cum quidam ei cibum objecisset, ad os defuncti tulisse. Innatavit idem in Tiberim cadaver objecti sustentare conatus, effusâ multitudine ad spectandum animalis fidem.* Pliny, lib. viii. s. 61.

Section LXXI.

(*a*) In what remains of Tacitus, we find the punishment of LATIARIS only. See Annals, vi. s. 4. The rest suffered under Caligula.

(*b*) Asinius Gallus married Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa by Pomponia, the grand-

daughter of Atticus, after she was divorced from Tiberius. Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, was also the daughter of Agrippa by Julia, the daughter of Augustus; and being half-sister to the wife of Asinius Gallus, she was, of course, aunt to his children. See the Genealogical Table.

(*c*) She was guilty of adultery with Silanus. See book iii. s. 24.

(*d*) For Trimetus, see the Geographical Table.

Section LXXII.

(*a*) The Frisians inhabited along the sea-coast, between the Rhine and the Amisia (the Ems). See the Geographical Table; and the Manners of the Germans, s. xxiv. and note (*b*).

(*b*) Drusus, the father of Germanicus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 79 and 81.

(*c*) Cæsar has described this species of cattle. The URI, he says, nearly equal the elephant in bulk, but in colour, shape, and kind, resemble the bull. They are of uncommon strength and swiftness, and spare neither man nor beast that comes in their way. See Duncan's Cæsar, book vi. s. 26. Cæsar, lib. vi. s. 28. Virgil has,

> Sylvestres Uri assiduè, capreæque sequaces.
>
> GEORGICS, lib. ii.

(*d*) FLEVUM castle was on the borders of the river FLEVUS, but no vestige of it remains at present. The river is swallowed up by the great gulf, called *Zuider-Zee*. See the Geographical Table.

Section LXXIII.

(*a*) There were three different establishments of

cavalry in the Roman armies: namely, the troops of horse belonging to each legion; the cavalry that formed a separate corps, as *Ala Petrina*, *Syllana*, *Scribonia*; and the cavalry of the allies, as *Ala Batavorum*, *Treverorum*, &c. For the Caninefates, see the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Brotier calls it the largest forest in the territory of the *Frisians*, known at present by the name of SEVEN WOLDEN.

Section LXXV.

(*a*) Her father, Germanicus, being adopted by Tiberius, she, of course, was the emperor's grand-daughter. See the Genealogical Table, No. 93. For her husband Domitius Ænobarbus, see the Table, No. 34. It was said of him, if he had not been the father of Nero, he would have been the worst man of the age.

NOTES

ON

THE FIFTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(*a*) TILLEMONT, in his History of the Emperors, fixes the passion of our Saviour in this year. Lactantius and many of the fathers are of the same opinion. The writers of modern date place that great event four years later, in the xixth of Tiberius, instead of xvth, and their calculation is now generally adopted. See Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. page 316, 4to edition. Tacitus, incidentally, mentions Jesus Christ, and his sufferings under Pontius Pilate, Annals, xv. s. 44.

(*b*) Augustus by his last will adopted her into the Julian family, under the additional name of AUGUSTA. Annals, book i. s. 8. Tacitus, after that time, calls her JULIA, JULIA AUGUSTA, and frequently AUGUSTA only. For the sake of uniformity she is always called *Livia* in the translation, and once or twice *Empress Mother*, though it must be acknowledged that the appellation is premature. The Romans had no title to correspond with *Empress*, *Senatress*, &c. See an Essay on the name of Augustus, Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xix. 4to edition. Julia died, ac-

cording to Pliny, lib. xiv. s. 6, at the age of eighty-two. Her father was of the Claudian family, and, being adopted into the house of Livius, took the name of Livius Drusus Claudianus. He fought on the side of liberty at the battle of Philippi, and, seeing the day lost, died by his own hand. For Livia, see the Geneaoglical Table, No. 66.

(*c*) He was also, as well as his wife, of the Claudian family. He appeared in arms against Octavius (afterwards Augustus), on the side of Lucius Antonius, whom he considered as the last asserter of public liberty. Antonius was besieged at *Perusia* by Augustus, A. U. C. 714, and, after holding out till the garrison was reduced by famine, was obliged to capitulate. Tiberius Nero endeavoured to collect the scattered remains of the republican party; but, his efforts proving fruitless, he was obliged to fly to Sextus Pompeius, then in possession of Sicily. His wife Livia attended him in his flight, being at that time big with child; and bearing in her arms her infant son Tiberius, who was about two years old. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 75. The father afterwards made his peace with Augustus, and returned to Rome A. U. C. 716; and his wife Livia, yielding to the emperor's embraces, sealed his pardon. Livia was then six months gone with child. Augustus, before he married her, was obliged to obtain a dispensation from the Pontifical college. In three months afterwards Livia was delivered of her second son, Drusus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 79. Caligula, afterwards emperor, and great-grandson of Livia, used to say of her, that she was another Ulysses in petticoats. *Liviam Augustam, proaviam suam, identidem* Ulyssem Stolatum *appellans.* Suetonius, in Calig. s. 23.

(*d*) Germanicus, the son of Drusus, was grandson to Livia; and Agrippina, his wife, was grand-daughter to Augustus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 81 and No. 51.

(*e*) Tiberius, from the day of his accession to the imperial dignity, considered his mother as a woman of a politic and artificial character, proud, fierce, and overbearing; in appearance, plotting to aggrandize her son; in secret, wishing for nothing so much as to gratify her own ambition. She lived three years after Tiberius retired to the isle of Caprea, and, during that time, never had more than one short interview. In her last illness Tiberius did not condescend to visit her. He signified an inclination to attend the funeral ceremony; but he promised only to deceive, and delayed so long, that the body was in a state of putrefaction before it was committed to the flames. Suet. in Tib. s. 51.

Section II.

(*a*) The apotheosis of Livia is still to be seen on ancient medals; but we learn from Suetonius, that divine honours were granted by the emperor Claudius, and the medals were most probably struck during his reign. See Suet. in Claud. s. xi.

Section III.

(*a*) Cotta Messalinus was the son of Messala Corvinus, the famous orator, who was highly commended by Quintilian. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. xii. note (*e*). The son inherited a portion of his father's eloquence, but none of his virtues. He is again mentioned by Tacitus as the promoter of oppression and cruelty. Annals, book vi. s. 5. He is recorded by

Pliny the elder as a voluptuous epicure, and a great proficient in the art of cookery. He invented a new *ragout*, composed of the feet of geese and the combs of cocks. I relate this fact, says Pliny, to the end that the men, who profess to study the pleasures of the table, may enjoy all the praise due to their kitchens. *Tribuetur enim a me culinis cujusque palma cum fide.* Pliny, lib. x. s. 22. Some of Ovid's Epistles, written in his exile, are addressed to Messalina.

Section IV.

(*a*) Suetonius assures us, that Julius Cæsar ordered acts of the senate, as well as of the people, to be daily committed to writing, and published, which had never been done before his time. See in Jul. Cæs. s. 20. Augustus, a more timid, and, by consequence, a darker politician, ordered the proceedings of the senate to be kept secret. Suet. in Aug. s. 36. Tiberius followed the same rule, but, as it seems, had the caution to appoint a senator to execute the office. Dio says, that he also directed what should be inserted or omitted. These records were, in the modern phrase, the JOURNALS OF THE HOUSE. In the early period of the commonwealth, before the use of letters was generally known, the years were registered by a number of nails driven into the gate of the temple of Jupiter. Livy, lib. vii. s. 3. But even in that rude age, the chief pontiff committed to writing the transactions of each year, and kept the record at his house, for the inspection of the people. *Pontifex maximus res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat literis, efferebatque in Album, et proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi.* Cicero, De Orat. lib. ii. s. 12. This mode of keeping

the records continued in use till the death of Mucius Scævola, A. U. C. 672. After that time, the motions in the senate, the debates, and resolutions of the fathers, occasioned a multiplicity of business, and, of course, the ancient simple form was found insufficient. Under the emperors, four different records grew into use: namely, the acts of the prince; secondly, the proceedings of the senate; thirdly, the public transactions of the people; and fourthly, the games, spectacles, births, marriages, deaths, and daily occurrences of the city, called the DIURNA. The last were sent into the provinces, and were there received as the ROMAN GAZETTE.

SUPPLEMENT (*a*).

TO the great loss of the literary world, the evil fate that attended the works of Tacitus is felt in this place, at a point of time when an important scene is to be opened; a scene in which Tiberius and Sejanus were the chief actors, each with the darkest policy contriving the other's ruin. The art of gradually unfolding the characters of men, in a course of action, was the talent of Tacitus, beyond any historian of antiquity; but the rest of the transactions of the present year of Rome 782, all of 783, and the greatest part of 784, have perished in the confusion of barbarous times. It is to be lamented, that Sejanus has been snatched away from Tacitus, that is, from the hand of justice. The chasm can never be filled up: for what modern writer can hope to rival the energy of Tacitus? All that remains, is to collect the

facts from the most authentic historians, and relate them here in a continued series, rather than give the reader the trouble of finding them where they lie scattered in various authors.

Section 2.

(*a*) Suetonius, in Tib. s. 51.

(*b*) The name of this Roman knight is not mentioned by Suetonius, who relates the fact, in Tib. s. 51.

(*c*) Seneca gives a picture of this dreadful period. *Excipiebatur ebriorum sermo; simplicitas jocantium. Nihil erat tutum: omnis sæviendi placebat occasio; nec jam reorum exspectabatur eventus, cum esset unus.* De Beneficiis, lib. iii. cap. 26.

Section 3.

(*a*) For this profound tranquillity in all parts of the Roman empire, see Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 126.

Section 4.

(*a*) The consuls for the year 783 were high in favour with Tiberius, and, accordingly, were afterwards married to two daughters of Germanicus; Drusilla, to Cassius Longinus; Julia, to Vinicius. See book vi. s. 15. See also the Genealogical Table, No. 95, 97, and 99.

(*b*) Tiberius had been, at this time, above three years in his recess at the isle of Caprea, indulging himself in every vice, and planning deeds of cruelty and horror; and yet Velleius asks Vinicius the consul, to whom he dedicates his work, what Tiberius had done to merit the worst agony of mind, and to be made miserable by his daughter-in-law and his grandson? *Quantis hoc triennio, M. Vinici, doloribus laceravit animum ejus?*

Quamdiu abstruso, quod miserrimum est, pectus ejus flagravit incendio, quod ex nuru, quod ex nepote dolere, indignari, erubescere coactus est? Lib. ii. s. 130.

Section 5.

(*a*) Suetonius, in Tib. s. 64.

(*b*) For Herculaneum, see the Geographical Table. Seneca says, Caligula razed the castle to the ground, that no vestige might remain of the place, where his mother suffered so much barbarity. De Irâ, lib. iii. s. 32.

(*c*) This fact is related by Suetonius, in Tib. s. 53.

(*d*) Suetonius, s. 53.

(*e*) For instances of this savage cruelty, see in this Supplement, s. 41.

(*f*) See the account of Agrippina's death, book vi. s. 25.

(*g*) For Pontia, see the Geographical Table. Nero was put to death on that island by order of Tiberius. Suet. s. 54.

Section 6.

(*a*) This was Otho, afterwards emperor. Suetonius says, he had a daughter, whom he contracted to Drusus, son of Germanicus, before she was of age to marry. Life of Otho, s. 1.

(*b*) For her flagitious life, and an account of her death, see book vi. s. 40. See the Genealogical Table, No. 84.

Section 7.

(*a*) Dio says that the consul became the agent of Sejanus.

(*b*) Suetonius in Tib. s. 54.

(*c*) See book vi. s. 23 and 24.

Section 8.

(*a*) Suetonius says, it was more by cunning and sly management, than by his imperial authority, that he was able to cut off Sejanus. In Tib. s. 65.

(*b*) These Memoirs were extant in Tacitus's time. Suetonius (in Tib. s. 61) refers to them for the fact here asserted; and in the Life of Domitian, that emperor, he says, laid aside the study of the liberal sciences, and read nothing but the commentaries of Tiberius. In Domit. s. 20. The Memoirs written by Tiberius, were, probably, the Manual of Tyranny.

Section 9.

(*a*) After all that Tacitus has hitherto disclosed of the character of Tiberius, one cannot read, without astonishment, the flattering account given by Velleius Paterculus (lib. ii. s. 126 and 127) of the justice, equity, moderation, and every virtue, which, according to that sycophant historian, distinguished the reign of Tiberius. The picture of a politic, dark, and cruel tyrant, is drawn in gracious colours. Pliny's Panegyric of Trajan is not more highly finished.

Section 10.

(*a*) The veneration paid to Sejanus is described at length by Dio, lib. lviii.

Section 11.

(*a*) This writer's work is dignified with the title of a Roman History; but it is well observed by Lipsius and Vossius, that it deserves no such title, being, in truth, nothing more than a collection of the principal events, that happened in the world, from the Trojan war down to the xvith of Tiberius, A. U. C. 783. It is not, says

Lipsius, a compendium or abridgment of history, though it must be allowed that the narrative proceeds in chronological order. It contains an account of eminent men, and characters well delineated; but the whole of the first book is a miscellaneous review of ancient times and foreign nations. The second book is a narrative of Roman affairs, written with ease and elegance, but, when it treats of the Cæsars, in a style of adulation. In the conclusion, the historian composes a fervent prayer, which must astonish all who are conversant in the history of Tiberius. He throws himself on his knees, and invokes the protection of Jupiter and Mars, and all the gods, to prolong the valuable life of Tiberius, and late, very late, to give to the Roman people a line of princes worthy of the succession to so great a prince. *Custodite, servate, protegite hunc statum, hanc pacem; eique functo longissimâ statione mortali destinate successores quam serissimos*, &c. See Vell. Patercul. in the conclusion.

Section 12.

(*a*) Asinius Gallus, son of the famous Asinius Pollio, has been already mentioned, Annals, book i. s. 12.

Section 13.

(*a*) For more of Gætulicus, see book vi. s. 30.

Section 14.

(*a*) Crevier, in his History of the Roman Emperors, says, Asinius was deputed on some business, which cannot now be known; but the fact, as here stated, is confirmed by Dio, lib. 58.

(*b*) Syriacus is mentioned by Seneca as an elegant orator, *multa diserte dixit*. See Controversiæ, lib. ii. c. 9.

Section 15.

(*a*) This match was proposed by Sejanus, book iv. s. 39, and rejected by Tiberius, s. 40. That he afterwards consented to give Livia in marriage to Sejanus, see book vi. s. 8, where Sejanus is expressly called, the son-in-law of the emperor.

Section 18.

(*a*) In this situation of things, Dio says, Sejanus was emperor of Rome; and Tiberius, the lord of an island.

Section 19.

(*a*) L. Piso was præfect of the city, and, in that office, discharged his duty with great skill, and equal integrity. Velleius Paterculus says, no man was more fond of indolence, and yet no man transacted business with such ability. *Vix quemquam reperiri posse, qui aut otium validius diligat, aut facilius sufficiat negotio.* Lib. ii. s. 98. Seneca tells us, that he was always drunk, and never out of bed before ten in the forenoon; and yet he contrived to execute his commission with uncommon diligence. He was the confidential magistrate of Augustus; and Tiberius, when he retreated into Campania, trusted all his most secret directions to the care of Piso. *Lucius Piso, urbis custos, ebrius, ex quo semel factus fuit. Majorem partem noctis in convivio exigebat; usque in horam sextam fere dormiebat. Officium tamen suum, quo tutela urbis continebatur, diligentissime administravit. Huic Divus Augustus dedit secreta mandata, et Tiberius, proficiscens in Campaniam, cum multa in urbe et suspecta relinqueret, et invisa.* Seneca, epist. 83. For an account of Piso's death, at fourscore years of age, see Annals, book vi. s. 10.

Section 20.

(*a*) The fate of this eminent man, and Prisca his wife, is related by Dio, lib. 58.

Section 21.

(*a*) This decree of the senate is mentioned by Dio, lib. lviii.

Section 23.

(*a*) During the time of the republic, the consular office lasted for the year. The emperors changed this rule. In order to gratify the ambition of their favourites, they appointed a new succession at different times in the year; but the names of such consuls do not appear in the *Fasti Consulares*.

Section 24.

(*a*) See Suetonius, in Calig. s. 10.

(*b*) Suetonius has recorded what Antonia, the mother of Claudius, said of her son. *Mater Antonia portentum eum hominis dictabat; nec absolutum a naturâ, sed tantum inchoatum; ac si quem socordiæ arguerent, stultiorem aiebat filio suo Claudio.* Sueton. in Claud. s. 3.

Section 25.

(*a*) See Dio, book lviii.

Section 26.

(*a*) The particulars of this plot, and the detection of it by Antonia (for whom see the Genealogical Table, No. 32), are related by Josephus.

Section 27.

(*a*) Satrius Secundus wa the accuser of Cremutius Cordus. Annals, iv. s. 34. Seneca, speaking of that

transaction, De Consolatione ad Marciam, says, Sejanus, meaning to enrich his creatures; gave Cordus, her father, as a *largess* to Satrius Secundus. *Sejanus patrem tuum clienti suo Satrio Secundo congiarium dedit.* See Annals, book vi. s. 47, where Satrius is mentioned as the informer against Sejanus.

(*b*) Josephus, who was well informed in every thing that related to Tiberius, confirms what is here said. According to him, Antonia employed Cænis, who was afterwards the favourite mistress of Vespasian, to write the letters to Tiberius; and Pallas, who became minister of state under Claudius, carried the dispatches to the isle of Caprea.

Section 28.

(*a*) See Suetonius, in Tib. s. 65.

(*b*) Suetonius, in Tib. s. 65.

Section 29.

(*a*) The particulars of the fall of Sejanus, and the conduct of Macro, the principal actor in that business, are related at large by Dio, lib. lviii.

Section 31.

(*a*) The letter is no where set forth, but the substance is reported by Dio. Juvenal says, no direct charge was exhibited against Sejanus; no facts were stated; no witness was produced. A pompous letter arrived from Caprea, and that was sufficient:

> Sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam
> Delator? quibus indiciis? quo teste probavit?
> Nil horum: verbosa et grandis epistola venit
> A Capreis.——
>
> JUVENAL, sat. x. ver. 69.

(*b*) The names of these two senators are no where mentioned.

Section 33.

(*a*) The behaviour of the populace is well described by Juvenal:

Descendunt statuæ, restemque sequuntur.
Ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis
Cædit, et immeritis frangunter crura caballis.
Jam stridunt ignes; jam follibus atque caminis
Ardet adoratum populo caput, et crepat ingens
Sejanus: deinde ex facie toto orbe secundâ
Fiunt urceoli, pelves, sartago, patellæ.

Sat. x. ver. 58.

(*b*) Seneca differs from this account. He says, Sejanus was torn in pieces by the populace, and nothing remained for the executioner to throw into the river.

Section 34.

(*a*) Juvenal has described the humours of the mob: they saw Sejanus ruined, and they hated him. If fortune had favoured his cause, they would have been ready to hail their new emperor with acclamations of joy.

——————— Sed quid
Turba Remi? sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit
Damnatos: idem populus, si Nursia Tusco
Favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
Principis, hac ipsâ Sejanum diceret horâ
Augustum.———

Sat. x. ver. 72.

Section 35.

(*a*) Dio gives an account of the honours voted on this occasion.

Section 36.

(*a*) The twelve villas, which Tiberius occupied in the isle of Caprea, have been already mentioned, book iv. s. 67.

Section 37.

(*a*) Sejanus had repudiated his wife some time before. See book iv. s. 3; and see *ibidem*, s. 11.

Section 38.

(*a*) For Eudemus and Lygdus, see book iv. s. 11.

(*b*) Dio relates the fact. For Antonio, see this Supplement, s. 27; and see the Genealogical Table, No. 32.

Section 39.

(*a*) The name of the preceptor was Theodorus of Gadara. Suetonius, in Tib. s. 57.

(*b*) The man, who, amidst the misfortunes of his family, *wanted the natural touch*, might reason in this manner; but Priam thought otherwise. It was said of him, that all he gained by a long life, was, that he wept oftener than his son Troilus. The sentiment of Tiberius is reported by Suetonius, in Tib. s. 62.

(*c*) Suetonius, in Calig. s. 11.

Section 43.

(*a*) Suetonius, in Tib. s. 62.

(*b*) Machiavel has not been able to devise a plan of more profound and barbarous policy. By consulting

their opinion, he made them believe that his friendship was sincere, because it was interest; by keeping near his person, he cut them off at his will and pleasure; and by setting them at variance among themselves, he made them the authors of their own destruction. See Suetonius, in Tib. s. 55.

Section 41.

(*a*) Suetonius, in Tib. s. 62.

(*b*) The story is told by Suetonius, in Tib. s. 57.

(*c*) Suetonius, s. 60.

(*d*) Suetonius, s. 61.

Section 42.

(*a*) Suetonius, in Tib. s. 56.

(*b*) Suetonius, *ibidem.*

(*c*) This account of malleable glass, and the fate of the manufacturer, are told by Dio, lib. lvii. Pliny relates the same story, but seems to doubt the truth of it. Lib. xxxvi. s. 26. Petronius, whose romance, called SATYRICON, is a disguised and pleasant satire on the private life of Claudius and Nero, has put the history of this transaction into the mouth of *Trimalcion*, a ridiculous character, who seems to be introduced to enliven the narrative, and divert the reader by his blunders. "Do not," says Trimalcion, "take me for an IGNORA-"MUS; I know the origin of the Corinthian metal. At "the sacking of Troy, Hannibal, that sly freebooter, "having gathered into a heap all the gold and silver "statues, with the *bronze* and other rarities, caused "them to be melted down into one enormous mass, "which was afterwards shivered to fragments, and by "the artists converted into dishes, plates, and statues.

" That is your Corinthian metal; neither this, nor that; " but a mixture of all." After this pleasantry, we have the anecdote of Tiberius and the glass-manufacturer, which, whether true or false, is told with an air of ridicule, and, consequently, brought into disrepute.

Section VI.

(*a*) The Supplement being brought to the point, where it connects with the original, Tacitus goes on from this place to the end of the book. The reader will observe that he stopped at the end of Section v. The intermediate sections are marked with figures, instead of the Roman numeral letters. It is to be regretted, that the name of the person, who speaks in the present section with such dignity of sentiment, cannot be traced in any historian of that age. The character of the man subsists, and will always claim respect. It is true, that this excellent man destroyed himself; but suicide, at that time, was the only relief from cruelty and oppression. See what Tacitus says on this subject, Annals, vi. s. 29.

Section VIII.

(*a*) P. Vitellius was the faithful companion of Germanicus, in Germany and Asia. He afterwards prosecuted Piso for the murder of his friend; Annals, iii. s. 10 and 13. Suetonius relates, that he was seized among the accomplices of Sejanus; and being delivered to the custody of his brother, he opened his veins, but, by the persuasion of his friends, suffered the wound to be bound up. He died soon after of a broken heart. Sueton. in Vitellio, s. 2. He was uncle to Vitellius, the emperor. See Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. Pomponius Secundus was of consular rank. Quintilian praises his

dramatic genius. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. xiii. note (*c*).

Section IX.

(*a*) The original calls it the triumviral punishment, because (as appears in the Digest i. tit. ii. s. 30) it was the duty of the triumvir to see execution done on such as were condemned to die. The men, who felt no compassion for an innocent child, thought it right to be scrupulous about forms, in order to commit a legal murder. Suetonius relates the fact as stated by Tacitus. In Tib. s. 61.

Section X.

(*a*) Dio says, that the impostor was taken, and sent a prisoner to Tiberius. But Dio is at times either too credulous, or too much pleased with his own invention.

Section XI.

(*a*) Trio has been mentioned, Annals, ii. s. 28, as a practised informer, a man of dangerous talents, and an infamous character. *Celebre inter accusatores Trionis ingenium erat, avidumque famæ malæ.*

NOTES

ON

THE SIXTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(*a*) DOMITIUS, commonly called Domitius Ænobarbus, is the person whom we have seen married to Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus. Annals, book iv. s. 75. See the Genealogical Table, No. 93. Suetonius draws his character in the blackest colours; and adds, that he was so sensible of his own depravity, as to say, when he was told of Nero's birth, "Nothing can spring from Agrippina and myself but a monster of vice, and scourge of human kind." When Tiberius died, he was confined in prison, charged, among other crimes, with an incestuous commerce with Lepida, his sister. He was saved by the change of the times, and not long after died of a dropsy at the town of Pyrgi. Suetonius in Nero, s. 5 and 6. The other consul, Camillus Scribonianus, is the same who ten years after, in the reign of Claudius, was proclaimed emperor by the legions in Dalmatia, and in a few days murdered by the soldiers.

(*b*) Suetonius explains the word SPINTRIÆ, and adds

that there were cells in woods and groves, furnished with lascivious pictures and statues, whence the word *Sellarii*. In Tib. s. 43.

Section II.

(*a*) This is Livia, who conspired with Sejanus against the life of Drusus, her husband; and suffered for that crime in the manner already mentioned. See book v. in the Supplement, s. 38.

(*b*) It will not be amiss to repeat, that *Ærarium* was the public treasury, and Fiscus the private treasury of the prince.

(*c*) Suetonius, in Tib. s. 65.

(*d*) If Tiberius had seriously intended to enter the senate-house, he was a better politician than to be the dupe of a plan proposed by Trogonius Gallus. None were admitted into the senate but the fathers, and those to whom they occasionally gave audience, or who were cited to their bar. If Tiberius was in fear of the senators, he knew better than to put arms in their hands. He would have desired to enter that assembly with a picked number of the prætorian guards.

Section III.

(*a*) Junius Gallio was the brother of Seneca. See Annals, xv. s. 73.

(*b*) Roscius Otho, tribune of the people, was the author of a law, called *Lex Roscia*, A. U. C. 685; by which fourteen rows in the theatre, next to the patrician order, were assigned to the Roman knights, with an express provision, that no freedman, nor even the son of a freedman, should be admitted into the equestrian order. Horace describes a man, who was grown sud-

denly rich, taking his seat in those rows of the theatre, in contempt of Otho and his law :

> Sedibusque magnus in primis eques,
> Othone contempto, sedet.
>
> Epod. iv.

In the time of Augustus this law was falling into disuse; but the subsequent emperors, in order to give a distinguished preference to the freedmen whom they enriched, revived the LEX ROSCIA in all its force. Hence Juvenal says, Let the man who is not worth the sum by law required, rise from the equestrian cushion, and make room for pimps and the sons of pimps :

> ——— Exeat, inquit,
> Si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri,
> Cujus res legi non sufficit, et sedeant hic
> Lenonum pueri quocumque in fornice nati.
>
> Sat. iii. ver. 153.

Section IV.

(a) See book v. s. 71.

(b) For the end of Pulcinius Trio, see this book, s. 38.

Section V.

(a) Caius Cæsar, more known by the name of Caligula. Brotier's edition has *C. Cæsarem*, and some have *Caium Cæsarem*. The last reading is adopted in this translation. Caligula was guilty of incest with his sister, Drusilla, whilst he was under age. Suetonius, in Calig. s. 24.

(b) The original says, *novemdialem cœnam*, because the grief of the Romans for the loss of a friend lasted nine days, and then concluded with a solemn feast in

honour of the dead. Cotta's meaning was, that celebrating the birth-day of an old woman ready to sink into her grave, was nothing different from a *novem-dial*, or mourning-festival. In the fragments of Cyrus, there is a fine verse, importing, that when an old woman laughs, death grins a ghastly smile. *Anus cum ridet, morti delicias facit.*

Section VI.

(a) Suetonius has the same letter in the very words here reported. In Tib. s. 67.

(b) Socrates, here properly called the Oracle of Ancient Wisdom, says, in Plato's Republic, " A tyrant is the worst of slaves. Were his heart and inward sentiments laid open to our view, we should see him stretched on the torture of the mind, distracted by his fears, and goaded by the pangs of guilt." Tacitus had his eye on this passage. Possessed of the supreme power, Tiberius lives in misery. His grief is heard from the solitude, and the rocks of Caprea. His case was like that of Œdipus, as described by Statius, in a fine picturesque line: *Sæva dies animi, scelerumque in pectore furiæ.*

Section VII.

(a) Seneca relates a curious attempt by an informer at a convivial meeting: One of the guests wore the image of Tiberius on his ring. His slave, seeing his master intoxicated, took the ring off his finger. The informer, in some time after, insisted that the owner, to mark his contempt of Tiberius, was sitting upon the figure of the emperor. For this offence he drew up an accusation, and was getting it attested by subscribing

witnesses, when the slave shewed to the whole company that he had the ring in his hand all the time. Seneca asks, Was the servant a slave? and was the informer a bottle-companion? *Si quis hunc servum vocat, et illum convivam vocabit.* De Beneficiis, lib. iii. cap. 26.

Section X.

(*a*) The passage in which L. Piso was mentioned by Tacitus, is lost with other parts of the fifth book. See the Supplement, s. 19, and note (*a*).

Section XI.

(*a*) He is mentioned by Livy in the character of præfect of the city. Imperium in urbe Lucretio, præfecto urbis jam ante ab rege instituto, reliquit. Lib. i. s. 59.

Section XII.

(*a*) The history of the Sibylline books, as much of it at least as can be condensed into a note, is as follows: A woman, supposed to be the Cumæan Sibyl, presented to Tarquin the Proud three books, of which, according to the account of Pliny the elder, lib. xiii. cap. 13, three were burned by her own direction. Other authors, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, lib. iv. cap. 62; and Aulus Gellius, lib. i. cap. 19, mention nine books, six of which, they say, were committed to the flames, and three preserved with care. Whatever the number was, it perished in the conflagration that destroyed the Capitol, not during the social war, as said by mistake in the original, but in the civil war between Marius and Sylla, A. U. C. 671. Those books had been always considered as a sacred deposit, containing prophetic accounts of the grandeur of Rome, and the certain means of propitiating the gods in the day of distress, or

when portents and prodigies gave notice of some impending calamity. Tarquin committed this invaluable treasure to the care of two officers appointed for the purpose. The number, A. U. C. 387, was increased to ten. After the fire of the capitol, when the political and religious oracle of the state was lost, the senate ordered diligent search to be made in Italy, Asia, and Africa, for all kinds of Sibylline verses, and that compilation was given in charge to fifteen officers called QUINDECEMVIRI. They, and they only, were to have access to those mysterious books, that contained the fame and fate of the Romans; *famamque et fata nepotum:* but even they were not allowed to inspect the predictions without the special orders of the senate. As long as the pagan superstition lasted, the Sibylline books continued to be the political creed of the emperor. In the reign of Honorius, Stilico, the ambitious minister, and pretended convert to Christianity, ordered all the Sibylline books to be burnt. Paganism groaned and expired. It appeared that there had been in various places a great number of Sibylline women, whose verses were obtruded on the world by a pious fraud; but the Cumæan Sibyl, so called from *Cumæ*, a town on the coast of Campania, was the only genuine prophetess. It is well known that Virgil, not understanding what was foretold of the birth of Christ, applied the whole prediction to another purpose in his fourth eclogue, called the POLLIO. The name of Sibyl was compounded of σιος æolicâ voce, pro Θεος, Deus, and βυλη, *consilium*. See the Delphin Virgil, lib. vi. v. 36; and see the fine description of the Sibyl in her prophetic ecstasy, v. 46.

(*b*) The senate had two ways of coming to a resolution: if there was no debate, the house decided *per*

discessionem. When there was an opposition, the fathers were called upon *seriatim* for their opinions. See Aulus Gellius, lib. xiv. cap. 7.

(*c*) See to the same effect Suetonius, in Aug. s. 31.

Section XV.

As Germanicus was adopted by Tiberius, Annals, i. s. 3, his daughters were, consequently, the grand-children of Tiberius.

Section XVI.

(*a*) The grievances of the people, labouring under the oppression of their creditors, occur so often in Livy, that it is needless to cite particular instances. The law of Julius Cæsar, mentioned in this passage, is explained by Suetonius. It was expected, he says, that all debts should be cancelled; but Cæsar ordered, that all debtors should satisfy their creditors, according to a fair estimate of their estates, at the rates at which they were purchased before the commencement of the civil wars; deducting from the principal the interest that had been paid; and by those means about a fourth part of the debt was sunk. Suetonius, in Jul. Cæs. s. 42. See also Cæsar de Bell. Civ. iii. s. 1. The late sir William Blackstone says, Many good and learned men perplexed themselves, and other people, by raising questions about the reward for the use of money, and by expressing their doubts about the legality of it *in foro conscientiæ*. A compensation for the loan of money is generally called *interest*, by those who think it lawful; and *usury*, by those who think otherwise; for the enemies to *interest* in general make no distinction between that and *usury*, holding any increase of money to be indefensibly usu-

rious. The arguments in support of that opinion are refuted by sir William Blackstone, who proves that the taking of a moderate reward for the use of money is not only not *malum in se*, but highly useful to society. See his Commentaries, vol. ii. p. 454 to 457. Bastier states the different rates of interest known at Rome, at different times. Some of them were usurious on account of their excess, as may be seen in the following table:

Fenus	Semiunciarium,	*Half per Cent.*
	Unciarium,	*One per Cent.*
Usura	Quadrans,	*Three per Cent.*
	Trieus,	*Four per Cent.*
	Quincunx,	*Five per Cent.*
	Semis,	*Six per Cent.*
	Bes,	*Eight per Cent.*
	Deunx,	*Eleven per Cent.*
	Centessima,	*Twelve per Cent.*
	Centessima Quaterna,	*Forty-eight per Cent.*
Anatocismus,		*Interest upon Interest.*

When the sum for the use of money is excessive, or what is now deemed *usurious*, Tacitus calls it *versura*; and so the word is used by Cicero. *Salaminii cum Romæ* VERSURAM *facere vellent, non poterant; quod lex Gabinia vetabat.* Ad Atticum, lib. v. epist. 21. See an Essay on the subject of Roman Usury, Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxviii. See also Montesquieu, Spirit of Laws, book xxii. chap. 22.

Section XX.

(*a*) See the Genealogical Table, No. 87.

Section XXII.

(*a*) This whole passage about Fate and Chance shews,

after all the philosophy of Plato and Cicero, that nothing but Revelation could disperse the mist, in which the best understandings were involved. The reasoning of Tacitus calls to mind the passage in Milton:

Others apart sat on a hill retir'd
In thought more elevate, and reason'd high
Of providence, fore-knowledge, will, and fate,
Fix'd fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute,
And found no end, in wand'ring mazes lost.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) Asinius Gallus was thrown into prison three years before. See book v. Supplement, s. 14.

(*b*) Drusus, the son of Germanicus: Genealogical Table, No. 83. See an account of his imprisonment in the lower part of the palace, book v. Supplement, s. 7.

Section XXV.

(*a*) See Annals, book v. Supplement, s. 5.

Section XXVI.

(*a*) Cocceius Nervas has been mentioned, book iv. s. 58.

Section XXVII.

(*a*) Julia, the daughter of Drusus and Livia, and grand-daughter to Tiberius. Genealogical Table, No. 74.

(*b*) The name of this person was Cossus Ælius Lamia. He united in his character many excellent qualities, but was addicted to liquor, as we learn from Seneca, who says, that Tiberius having experienced the good effects

of Piso's administration, which succeeded notwithstanding his love of liquor, see book v. Supplement, s. 19, and note (*a*), appointed Cossus to the office of præfect of the city; a man of wisdom and moderation, but fond of wine, and apt to drink deep. *Cossum fecit urbis præfectum, virum gravem, moderatum, sed mersum vino et madentem; puto quia bene cesserat Pisonis ebrietas.* Seneca, epist. 83. He obtained the province of Syria, but was not suffered to proceed to his government. This, we are told by Tacitus, was a state of suspense habitual to Tiberius. See book i. s. 80, where we are also told why the detention of Lamia added to his dignity. Tiberius was afraid of eminent virtue: *Ex optimis periculum.*

(*c*) Pomponius Flaccus was another of Tiberius's bottle-companions. Suetonius says, that the name of the emperor being, *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, he was nicknamed Biberius Caldius Mero; and after he came to the empire, he passed a whole night and two days in a carousing party with Lucius Piso and Pomponius Flaccus. Sueton. in Tiberio, s. 42.

(*d*) Manius Lepidus has been mentioned, book i. s. 13; book iv. s. 20.

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) Lucius Vitellius, the new consul, was the father of Vitellius, who was afterwards emperor. See more of him, s. xxxii.

(*b*) The accounts given by the ancients of this wonderful bird, if collected together, would swell into a volume. Tacitus was aware of the decorations of fable; but of the real existence of such a bird, and its periodical appearance in Egypt, he entertained no kind of

doubt. It has been objected by some critics, that he breaks the thread of his narrative for the sake of a trifling digression; but it should be remembered, that what is now known to be a fable, was formerly received as a certain truth. It was, therefore, in the time of Tacitus, an interesting description, and even now curiosity is gratified with the particulars of so celebrated a fiction. La Bletterie observes, that, since the Christian æra, many learned and pious writers have been carried away by the torrent, and embraced the popular opinion. He says the word φοῖνιξ signifying *palma*, the palm-tree, as well as the bird in question, Tertullian was so ingenious as to find the phenix mentioned in scripture. The Latin translators have said, *Justus aut palma florebit;* he translates it, *Justus ut phenix florebit.* Pliny the naturalist seems to dwell with pleasure on the particulars of the birth, the age, the death, and revival of this wonderful bird. He says that a pretended phenix was brought to Rome from Ægypt, A. U. C. 800, and exhibited as a public spectacle in the Forum; but the people considered it as an imposition. *Quem falsum esse nemo dubitavit.* Pliny, lib. x. s. 2. Pomponius Mela has given an elegant description of the phenix. The substance of what he says, is, when it has lived five hundred years, it expires on its own nest, and, being regenerated, carries the bones of its former frame to Heliopolis, the city of the Sun, and there, on an altar covered with Arabian spices, performs a fragrant funeral. Mela, lib. iii. s. 9. Mariana, the Spanish historian, who wrote in modern times, may be added to the Christian writers who have mentioned this bird with pious credulity. He considers the re-appearance of the phenix, towards the end of Tiberius, as a prognostic of

the resurrection, because it revives out of its own ashes. See his History of Spain, lib. iv. cap. i. See also sir John Mandevilie.

Section XXIX.

(*a*) Tacitus seems here to make the apology of suicide. It was fear of the executioner that hurried men on self-destruction. *Promptas ejusmodi mortes metus carnificis faciebat.* A second reason was, the accused, who died before sentence of condemnation by their own hands, saved their effects for their relations, and were allowed the rites of sepulture. The idea of being strangled, and thrown into the Tiber, was shocking to the imagination. It is remarkable, that a law against suicide was unknown to the Romans in every period of their history. The motives for embracing a voluntary death continued, as stated by Tacitus, till the reign of Antoninus. That emperor, A. U. C. 965, of the Christian æra 212, confiscated the effects of all who put an end to their lives, to avoid final judgment. In other respects, suicide was not restrained; it was rather countenanced. If no prosecution was commenced, the estate of the person, who in a fit of insanity destroyed himself, passed by his will, or descended to his heirs. So far was right: but the same rule was extended to those who were weary of life, and for that reason put an end to their days. *Dolore aliquo corporis, aut tædio vitæ.* See the Code, ix. tit. 50. *De bonis eorum qui mortem sibi consciverunt.* It was a maxim of the stoic school, that there was nothing better in human life, than the power of ending it. *Ex omnibus bonis, quæ homini tribuit natura, nullum melius esse tempestivâ morte; idque in eâ optimum, quod illum sibi quisque*

præstare poterit. Pliny, lib. xxviii. s. 1. The impious tenets of a dogmatical sect were able to silence the law of nature. Socrates was of a different opinion; that best of philosophers says, in the Phædo of Plato, that we are all placed by Providence in our proper stations, and no man has a right to desert his post. Aristotle calls suicide the act of a timid, not of a noble mind. It was the maxim of Pythagoras, that without leave from the commander in chief, that is from God, it is unlawful to quit our post; and Cicero, who records that excellent doctrine *(De Senectute)* says, in another place, that it is the duty of the good and pious, to keep the soul in its tenement of clay; and, without the order of him who gave it, no one should rush out of this life, lest he incur the guilt of rejecting the gift of providence. *Piis omnibus retinendus est animus in custodiâ corporis; nec injussu ejus, a quo ille est vobis datus, ex hominum vitâ migrandum est, ne munus humanum assignatum a Deo defugisse videamini.* Somnium Scipionis, s. vii. Since the law of nature, speaking in the human heart, was not attended to, no wonder that the voice of a few philosophers was not heard. The Pagans required the light of Revelation.

(*b*) We have seen Mamercus Scaurus marked as a victim, this book s. ix. Seneca says he was designed by nature for a great orator, but he fell short, owing to his own neglect. *Scire posses, non quantum oratorem præstaret Scaurus, sed quantum descresceret.* Controv. lib. v. in Præfatione. Dio informs us, that the tragedy for which he was accused, was founded on the story of Atreus; and that Tiberius, thinking himself glanced at, said, Since he makes me another Atreus, I will make

him an AJAX, meaning, that he would force him to destroy himself. Dio, lib. lviii.

(*c*) The wife of Drusus, the son of Tiberius. See the Genealogical Table, No. 71.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) La Bletterie in his note, at the opening of this year, says, Since Tacitus has given the history of the phenix, he thinks an account of the extraordinary crow, that for a long time amused the people of Rome, will not be unacceptable to the reader. He gives the whole detail from Pliny the elder. The crow, it seems, belonged to a shoemaker, and was soon taught to articulate words. It went every morning to the Rostrum, and there distinctly pronounced, Good day, Tiberius! Good day, Germanicus! Good day, Drusus! This continued for several years. The bird was at last killed by another shoemaker in the neighbourhood, who fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the populace. The bird was afterwards buried near the Appian road with the greatest parade, and a long procession of Roman citizens. See Pliny, lib. x. cap. 43.

(*b*) Suetonius says, Tiberius was severely lashed in a letter from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, upbraiding him with parricide, murder, cowardice, and luxury; and advising him to expiate his guilt by a voluntary death. In Tib. s. 66.

(*c*) Artaxias III. who was seated on the throne of Armenia by Germanicus. See book ii. s. 56 and 64.

(*d*) Vonones was deposed by the Armenians, and obliged to take refuge at Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia. Annals, book ii. s. 1 and 58.

(*e*) The custom of advancing eunuchs to the highest stations, has been, in all ages, a custom with the princes of the east.

(*f*) He was the son of Phraates IV. and had been sent by his father as an hostage to Augustus. Annals, book ii. s. 1.

Section XXXII.

(*a*) L. Vitellius was consul in the preceding year. See this book, s. 28, and note (*a*). In his administration of Syria, he conducted himself with integrity and wisdom; and on his return to Rome, he thought it the best policy to atone for his virtues by the practice of every vice. He gave rise to the worshipping of Caligula as a God. He approached that emperor with his face veiled, and fell prostrate at his feet. Caligula received the impious homage, and forgave Vitellius all his merit in the east. He ranked him among his favourites. Caligula wished to have it thought that he was a lover of the Moon, and highly favoured by that goddess. He appealed to Vitellius as an eye-witness of his intrigue: "Sir, said "the courtier, when you gods are in conjunction, you "are invisible to mortal eyes." In the following reign, to secure the favour of Claudius, who was the easy dupe of his wives, he requested it as the greatest favour of Messalina, that she would be graciously pleased to let him take off her shoes. His petition was granted. Vitellius carried the shoes to his own house, and made it his constant practice to kiss them before company. He worshipped the golden images of Narcissus and Pallas, and ranked them with his household gods. When Claudius celebrated the secular games, which were to be at the end of every century (see book xi. s. 11), he car-

ried his adulation so far, as to say to the emperor, "May "you often perform this ceremony!" *Sæpe facias*. It may be said of him, that he left his virtues in his province, and at Rome resumed his vices. See Suet. in Vitell. s. ii.

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) The Etesian wind, or the *North-east*, begins in the beginning of July, and blows during the dog-days. The *Hibernus Auster*, the *South-west*, continues during the winter.

Section XXXIV.

(*a*) Phryxus was the first that sailed to Colchos in pursuit of riches. Jason went afterwards on the same errand, which was called the *Golden Fleece*.

Section XXXVII.

(*a*) Rivers were supposed to have their presiding deity, and were therefore worshipped by the Persians and the Oriental nations as well as by the Romans.

(*b*) Tiberius ended the Dalmatic war, A. U. C. 763.

(*c*) See the Geographical Table.

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) A virulent prosecutor. See book ii. s. 28. He was consul with Memmius Regulus, from August to the end of the year 784. See book v. Supplement, s. 29.

Section XXXIX.

(*a*) Trebellienus Rufus was made guardian to the children of Cotys, the Thracian king. Book ii. s. 67. For Paconianus, see this book, s. 3 and 4.

(*b*) Poppæus Sabinus was consul in the time of Augustus, A. U. C. 762. He commanded in Mæsia, Achaia,

and Macedonia, and obtained triumphal honours. Book i. s. 80.

Section XL.

(*a*) This was done, that, under colour of dying by the hands of the executioner, his goods might be confiscated. See in this book, s. 29.

(*b*) Josephus mentions this fact. He says, Tigranes was grandson to Herod.

(*c*) Caius Galba was brother to Galba, afterwards emperor.

(*d*) See the Genealogical Table, No. 83 and 84.

Section XLII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) The office of *Surena* was in point of dignity next to the prince.

Section XLV.

(*a*) Houses, detached entirely, and contiguous to no other building, were called insulated houses.

(*b*) See this book, s. 20. Suetonius says, she died in child-bed. Life of Calig. s. xii. The intrigue with Ennia is there related in a manner somewhat different.

Section XLVI.

(*a*) Hereditary succession was unknown to the Romans. Under colour of preserving ancient forms, the senate was still supposed to be the depositary of the public mind, and, in case of a demise, the prince was elective. The legions soon usurped the right of naming a successor. The Cæsarean line, as long as it lasted, was respected by the army. After the death of Nero, the last of the Cæsars, wars fierce and bloody were the con-

sequence. The states of Europe, during several centuries, experienced similar convulsions, till, in more enlightened times, the nature of civil government being better understood, hereditary succession was established for the benefit of mankind. See more on this subject, Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xix.

(*b*) This was the son of Drusus, who had been cut off by Sejanus. Book iv. s. 8. He was afterwards put to death by Caligula; see Suet. in Calig. s. 23. Caligula himself died by the assassin's dagger. Suet. in Calig. s. 58.

(*c*) Plutarch, in his Tract on the Art of preserving Health, says, he himself heard Tiberius say, that the man who at sixty wanted the advice of a physician, must be absurd and ridiculous. Tacitus, with greater probability, confines the maxim to the age of thirty; and he is confirmed by Suetonius, in Tib. s. 68.

Section XLVII.

(*a*) For Publius Vitellius, see book v. s. 8. The translator is sorry to find, that, by some inadvertence, a mistake has crept into the text. It is said, *Vitellius and Otho became* open enemies; but Vitellius was dead. It should be Balbus and Otho. Balbus was the accuser of Acutia, and he lost his reward by the intercession of the tribune.

(*b*) Satrius Secundus had been the active agent of Sejanus; see book iv. s. 34. But he ruined his patron in the end; see book v. Supplement, s. 27; and book vi. s. 8.

Section XLIX.

(*a*) Brotier thinks he was one of the consuls for the preceding year: but as he is in this place said to be a

young man, seduced by the arts of a wicked mother, it is not probable that he ever rose to the consulship.

Section L.

(*a*) We are told by Plutarch, that this villa, formerly the property of Caius Marius, was purchased by Lucullus at an immense price. Plutarch, Life of Marius. Brotier says, the ruins are still to be seen, near the promontory of Misenum.

Section LI.

(*a*) Velleius Paterculus has said the same thing with great elegance and equal truth. Lib. ii. s. 103, 106, 114. It is in his account of the reign of Tiberius, that the adulation of that historian betrays a want of veracity.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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